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ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of the inception, development, and perpetuation of the Great Highland Bagpipe (GHB) in the United States, and in particular examines the culture and community of competitive bagpiping. With a focus on the Eastern United States, the study traces the inception and development of bagpiping through three distinct eras. In the first two eras, the GHB enjoyed increasing degrees of popularity among various populations in the United States, before its presence declined almost to the point of extinction. The study then proceeds to the third era, still in progress, exploring the present state of competitive bagpiping in the Eastern United States including an in-depth examination of the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association (EUSPBA). Obstacles to the growth of bagpiping in the EUSPBA are considered, revealing growth trends, as well as attitudes toward and awareness of growth issues. Student perceptions and motivations are analyzed, followed by an examination of teacher attitudes. Specific teaching methods are compared and analyzed. Finally, learning environments, categorized as formal, non-formal, and informal, are described and examined.

The Great Highland Bagpipe in the Eastern United States:

Inception, Development, and Perpetuation

Ph.D. Dissertation by
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2015

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVES AND THESIS STATEMENT

With the gradual emergence of an internationally viable competitive presence, American participation in the worldwide Great Highland Bagpipe (GHB) community is becoming a marginal force in this marginal community.¹ This growing presence elicits questions of a developmental and pedagogical nature. How did the GHB arrive and flourish in the United States, what is the current condition of this art form, and how is the GHB community in the United States perpetuated? These questions have largely been ignored by academics. As the GHB culture and community continues to grow in the United States, so grows the significance of these questions. The broad aim of this study, therefore, focuses on the inception and development of the GHB in the United States, and in particular on the emergence of a systematic approach to GHB instruction in the Eastern United States.

This broad aim is presented as two goals. The first goal is to chart the presence of the GHB in the Eastern United States from its initial introduction into the American Colonies, through its current place in Scottish-American culture, including an examination of possible obstacles affecting the potential growth of the GHB community in the Eastern United States. The second goal is to examine student and teacher perceptions, pedagogical and andragogical methods of transmission, and the environments in which transmission takes place.

¹ Throughout the text the term “Great Highland Bagpipe” has been abbreviated “GHB.” All references to GHB, and any other reference to bagpipes, bagpiping, bagpipers or pipers, refer to the Great Highland Bagpipe, unless otherwise stated.

Format

The main body of this thesis is divided into two parts, each consisting of three chapters. These two parts are preceded by this introductory chapter and followed by a chapter discussing conclusions.

Chapter I, Introduction, includes a section on methodology, entailing research context, scope and limitations, research and presentation decisions, and methodological challenges. Following the section on methodology is an explanation of various key words and concepts, after which follows a presentation of the current pertinent literature.

Part I, consisting of Chapters II-IV, addresses the first goal of the thesis: the introduction and development of the GHB in the Eastern United States. Chapter II traces the presence of the GHB from its earliest arrival in the American Colonies through two distinct historical eras, which ended with the beginning of the Second World War. Chapter III examines the third era, now in progress, including the development and current condition of the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association (EUSPBA), the governing body for bagpiping and drumming competition in the Eastern United States. Although historical in content, space limitations and paucity of primary source material from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries preclude Chapters II and III from consideration as an exhaustive history. Rather, the outline presented functions as a vital contextualizing overview of the influences leading to the current state of competitive bagpiping in the Eastern United States. Chapter IV studies current trends in and implications for the development of competitive bagpiping in the EUSPBA.

Part II, consisting of Chapters V-VII, examines the pedagogical aspects of bagpiping. Chapter V presents a survey of student motivations and expectations.

Chapter VI discusses teacher perceptions and specific pedagogical practices. Chapter VII describes the environments in which transmission occurs.

Finally, Chapter VIII presents findings and conclusions. Included in Chapter VIII are implications for future research.

In formatting my research, while all the material is related, I gradually came to realize presenting it in two parts, to more closely align with my research aims, would provide a more cogent display of my findings. While I initially considered placing the chapter on obstacles to future growth at the end of the dissertation, I came to see this as a natural conclusion to Part I, which outlines the inception and development of the GHB presence in the Eastern United States.

METHODOLOGY

Research Context

Although a study describing the development of such an ethnically identifiable musical instrument as the GHB must consider numerous aspects of ethnomusicology, many of these aspects are, in fact, peripheral to the main thrust of the study, which is situated primarily in the field of music pedagogy. Furthermore, while much of Part One is devoted to a historical outline tracing the inception and development of bagpiping in the Eastern United States, rather than presenting an exhaustive history, these references are intended to contextualize the development of the GHB as a foundation upon which to present the current state of the competitive culture and pedagogical methods of bagpiping.

Defining the cultural aspects of the bagpiping community presents complications, for two reasons. First, Scottish culture is separate and distinct from United States culture, yet while the GHB clearly exists in both, both national cultures exist independently of the GHB. Second, now considered by many to be a world

instrument, the GHB itself can reasonably claim its own culture, independent of any national borders. This means, theoretically, at least, that a person could consider himself a participant in all three cultures simultaneously. These complications led to a need to identify, define, and subsequently limit the parameters of the present work.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

Geographic Location

This study presents an investigation of the transmission of bagpiping in the United States, including the inception, development, and current state of the competitive bagpiping culture in the United States. The historical aspect of the study, as well as the study of obstacles to growth, has been further refined to include only the part of the United States served by the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association. The EUSPBA, initially formed in 1964, claims to be the largest association of its kind, in terms of both geographical scope and membership (Crawford, Spring 2010, p.18). Geographically, the EUSPBA encompasses the entire Eastern United States from Maine to Florida, and westward to Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, and Ohio, although the Midwest Pipe Band Association sanctions some competitions in Missouri.

I initially chose to limit my research exclusively to this geographic territory because of the enormous distances involved, and because bagpiping on the West Coast developed differently than on the East Coast. I felt that having to make a study of the two separate areas, and then draw detailed distinctions and comparisons between two culturally and geographically divergent sections of the United States, would unnecessarily dilute the focus of my research. Therefore, in Part I, historical experiences from places such as Canada and the Western United States, are touched on peripherally, if at all. Even Scotland, the traditional homeland of the GHB and of

Scottish culture, is only referenced to the extent that such culture applies to the development of the diaspora culture in the United States, and in particular, the development of a bagpiping community in the United States.

Pedagogical Inquiry

I gradually came to realize, however, that while the first goal of my study, specifically the historical narrative, required a focused, regional examination, my second goal, involving selected components of pedagogy, benefitted from a broader field of inquiry. When the current pedagogical aspects of bagpiping are studied, methods from other locations where a strong bagpiping community exists, most notably Scotland, Canada, and the Western United States, are examined alongside those found in the Eastern United States. Therefore, my questions about the inception, development, and future of bagpiping are restricted to the geographic area encompassing the EUSPBA, whereas questions concerning pedagogy, attitudes, environments, and cultural contexts include insight I have gleaned from regional, national, and transnational sources.

Cultural Identification

Within the broad framework of pedagogy, the presence of an underlying ethnic culture requires the GHB's place in that culture to be defined. I had to determine to what extent the GHB is a symbol of Scotland.

Is the GHB Scottish, or rather, is it *still* Scottish? While the question seems almost nonsensical at first, the answer is not quite as straightforward as might first be imagined. Not every "national" instrument retains its national exclusivity. As an example, the guitar was once known as the "Spanish guitar" (Sharpe, 1959). As a rule, the best guitars and the best performers came from Spain, and although other countries laid claim to the instrument, it is reasonable to argue that the symbolic

home of the guitar was Spain. However, this is certainly no longer the case, as shown by the guitar's international cross-cultural appeal. While Spain continues as the homeland of Flamenco, the guitar has arguably been adopted as a world instrument.

Although almost every country in Europe and the Middle East boasts its own indigenous GHB, it is safe to say the GHB is the most popular and widely recognized of all GHBs. The GHB was developed in Scotland, and gained international preeminence as a result of its presence in the Highland regiments of the British Army. However, the GHB was not so much a Scottish instrument as a Highland instrument. Prior to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, Scottish Highland culture was looked down upon by England and vilified by Lowland Scotland (Trevor-Roper, 2008, pp.217-218). It was not until Sir Walter Scott's "Tartan Revival" that Highland culture, and the GHB along with it, achieved acceptance in the eyes of the rest of Scotland (Trevor-Roper, 1983, p.15).

Most people in Twenty-first Century Scotland have nothing to do with the GHB. Robert Wallace, head of the College of Piping in Glasgow, claims the GHB has become a "world instrument" (personal interview, March 2, 2011). Cadden (2003) describes "GHB competition," rather than Scotland or Scottish culture, as the "... [I]nstitution central to the globalization of the Scottish pipe band..." (p.120). Although Scotland continues to be the symbolic "homeland" of the GHB and of bagpipers, Scotland is looked to less and less as the standard to which to aspire, and more as a "first among equals" regarding the GHB (Bell, J., personal interview, September 17, 2011). This bivalent perspective, of a community that still looks to a Scottish homeland, while assuming greater autonomy with each passing year, is no more dichotomous than the hyphenation of American and Scottish heritage as a cultural identifier. There is nothing unusual or necessarily contentious about such a

relationship. To provide examples, Canada and Australia are at once independent of and forever linked to Britain. As will be examined later, the worldwide GHB community has long since stopped looking to Scotland for permission to innovate and advance. I provide numerous examples of both connection to and independence from Scotland.

I therefore argue that while the GHB as a musical instrument remains a symbol of Scottish identity in the eyes of the general public, and even superficially in the mind of bagpipers, competitive bagpiping enjoys a culture independent of national boundaries. For this reason, comparisons to Scotland in this research are most frequently presented as correlations rather than as standards against which to judge bagpiping in the United States.

RESEARCH DECISIONS

Finding documentation and information on various aspects of bagpiping constituted the first part of the current research. Finding such a large body of literature on a wide variety of GHB-related subjects was surprising, but finding an absence of material of an academic nature was not. Reading these sources, taking notes, and developing an outline for the developing research commanded a prodigious amount of time. Early in the course of my research, I sent a survey to every member of the EUSPBA Adjudicator's panel, since they are the acknowledged leaders of competitive bagpiping in the Eastern United States, and since most of them are involved in teaching in some capacity. Additionally, in the initial phase of research I identified several senior piping teachers and judges I wanted to personally interview. Since one of the thrusts of my work was to compare the similarities and differences between Scottish and American teaching, I decided to interview teachers from Scotland and the United States. I also included Canadian teachers: I thought

their proximity to the United States would provide a unique insight into pedagogical practices in the United States. Thanks to the raw material found in interviews published in the *Voice* magazine I was able to expand my sources to respondents who are no longer living.

For my interviews, I decided a semi-structured format would be best, because while I had certain questions I knew I wanted to ask, I also wanted to make certain the respondents felt comfortable sharing information they thought might be pertinent to my study. I tried to maintain a neutral and objective voice in my choice and wording of initial questions for these interviews, but as Hermansson notes, complete objectivity is not only impossible, it is perhaps detrimental to the research process (2003, p.7). In total, I personally interviewed twelve teachers. I was initially concerned by what I viewed to be a small number of respondents, even though when I had previously performed the online survey of 40 EUSPBA judges, I achieved what I thought to be saturation almost immediately, in that there was very little deviation between answers to most of my questions. Upon further study of the concept of saturation, I found that many qualitative researchers prefer not to consider saturation, speaking rather in terms such as “diminishing returns” or “matter of degree” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.136). Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) found diminishing returns in as few as six respondents (p.59). Richie, Lewis and Elam (2003) suggest that a homogeneous culture requires fewer respondents to achieve saturation (p.83). I found almost uniform agreement on most of my questions from the onset of my interviews, suggesting that while the details of pedagogy or historical recollection might vary from one teacher to another, the general concepts are held in agreement by most authorities. Of particular note is the fact that some of my respondents, including Roddy MacDonald, one of the founders of the EUSPBA, and Angus

MacLellan, former principal instructor of the College of Piping, died shortly after I interviewed them. I was grateful to have been able to record their views before they died.²

In addition to the twelve teachers, I also interviewed or corresponded with more than sixty American bagpipers of various competitive levels, asking their opinions on a wide range of subjects. Of these, thirty-two replied to a brief, formal survey asking specific questions.³ Their responses to topics including competitive motivation, student perceptions, and teaching practices, provided valuable insight. A brief description of each respondent's connection to bagpiping is included in the "Interviews and Personal Correspondence" section of the references. Because there was so much general agreement in the content of the responses, my decisions about which quotes to include were based mostly on my personal opinion of which was the most interestingly worded. Many answers were short and to the point, but these responses also tended to be dull. Throughout my career as an educator and researcher, I have asserted that academic research should be serious, but it doesn't have to be boring. When reviewing multiple sources providing equivalent content, given a choice between dry information and an engaging story, I selected responses that made their point in an entertaining or poignant manner. I also made certain to include any opposing views, rare though they usually were. Throughout the study I largely avoided drawing on my own personal experience for examples. In rare cases, I did include personal recollections of conversations which occurred prior to beginning the current research, but these are all clearly identified as such.

As I continued my study, I frequently discovered a need to branch out into wider fields of inquiry, such as national identity, and cultural marginalization.

² The list of questions I used for the formal interviews with piping judges is included in Appendix 1.1

³ The list of questions in the survey I sent to these respondents is included in Appendix 1.2. Not all respondents answered every question.

Sometimes these vectors led to dead ends, although they were usually fascinating dead ends, but often, at the end of my line of discovery, I found valuable and pertinent material which greatly enhanced my research.

To further define my study, I considered several key words and concepts. These included: where competitive GHB music resides as a music type; authenticity; community; culture; and aesthetics.

Folk Music, Ethnic Music, Traditional music, or Art music?

I first had to determine where GHB music falls in the field of music. GHB music is definitely ethnic music, and competitive GHB music is certainly traditional. Therefore, my initial belief was that because GHB music is “ethnic” music, it must also be folk music. However, upon closer examination, I discovered that this is not necessarily the case.

Defining “folk music” is one thing. Finding consensus on that definition is another thing altogether, as debate on this subject, often lively, and sometimes contentious, has provided spirited fuel for debate for almost one hundred years (Almeida, et al., 1952, pp.9-34; Cohen, 2015, np.; Karpeles, 1955, pp.6-7; Tasker, 1920, pp.451-453). Von Glahn and Broyles (2012) caution against adhering too rigidly to any definition that would pigeonhole a particular music form or genre. Although not easily or precisely defined, many authorities agree upon certain minimal common required characteristics of folk music. The folk music research pioneers, Francis Gummere, Cecil Sharp, and others, attributed several common characteristics to folk music, including an absolute requirement that folk music be transmitted orally, to the exclusion of written music, positing that when a piece of folk music is written down, it ceases to be folk music (Gummere, 1894, pp. xxix, xxxvii; Nettl, 1990, p.3; Sharp, 1907, p.10). Transcription preserves the piece in its

current form, but does not foster continued evolution, a requirement of the genre (Gummere, 1894, p.xxxvi; Sharp, 1907, p.15; Karpeles and Wilson, 1953, p.3). Furthermore, folk music must be fluid, spontaneous, and intuitive, usually created by unnamed and unknown persons, and the result of constant and continuous evolution through the ages, as compared to art music or popular music, which would be composed by one individual at a specific time in history (Gummere, 1894, pp.xxxv; Sharp, 1907, pp.8, 14-15). These general concepts were agreed upon as basic defining characteristics of folk music by the International Folk Music Council at their Fifth International Conference in June, 1952 (Almeida, et al., 1952, pp.9-34).

Historically, it is almost certain that at some point in its development, the GHB was used as a folk instrument, as defined by the previous remarks, with numerous examples of the GHB mentioned in literature prior to any evidence of written GHB music or known composer (Ritson, pp.lvii-lxii). In the present day, the GHB may be adapted to play “folk” or “popular” music, as is presumably possible with any musical instrument. This can be seen in the performances of many Celtic folk and rock groups, such as the Battlefield Band and the Red Hot Chilli Pipers. However, neither the repertoire nor the performance tradition of the competitive GHB community, of which this study is primarily concerned, qualifies as folk music, based on the parameters described above, for two reasons.

First, even though *piobaireachd*, the ancient classical music of the GHB, was not initially written down in staff notation until the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, these tunes were nevertheless recorded in *canntaireachd*, the piper’s solfege, at an earlier date. Marches, and especially the specific genre known as “competition marches,” have almost without exception always been written down. In both

examples, the names of the actual composers of most of these tunes are known, either in fact or by tradition.

Based on the above-mentioned limitations, the only genre of GHB music that ever qualified as “folk music” would have been dance music, specifically strathspeys and reels, many of which were adapted from fiddle tunes. Despite the fact that many of these tunes would have been published as fiddle tunes in the Eighteenth Century, it is possible that some of these tunes might have been adapted to the GHB through oral transmission. However, by the end of the Nineteenth Century, strathspeys and reels, along with all other types of GHB music, almost universally entered into the standard GHB repertoire via written collections. Concerning the varying settings of tunes, which is admittedly part of the repertoire, especially of the older tunes, standardization notwithstanding, the existence of more than one setting, or in some cases several settings, does not pass the test of constant spontaneous evolution required of folk music. There might be more than one acceptable setting, but there are not an infinite number of acceptable settings, and the condition of acceptability itself separates GHB music from the folk idiom. Furthermore, even though the name of the original composer of many of these dance tunes might be lost to antiquity, the tunes’ standardization through publication effectively removes them from the wide definition of folk music.

Second, although GHB music instruction possesses a certain amount of oral transmission, this orality is usually used as a tool alongside, rather than instead of written music, and has been used as such with growing dependence on the written music for almost 200 years (Emerson, 1971, p.194). In contrast to the combined method of written music and oral instruction found in most bagpiping environments, Waldron’s respondents, all “traditional Celtic folk musicians” stated they consider it

inappropriate to learn Celtic folk music through staff notation, demonstrating a distinction between GHB music and Celtic folk music transmission (2006, pp.84-86).

I argue, then, that although certain aspects of GHB music may be thought to have folk leanings, and while its roots might reasonably be inferred to reach back into folk music, competitive GHB music must reside outside the folk idiom.

If we are going to continue to disregard Von Glahn and Broyles (2012), we must now decide what other general categories are available. Fortunately, Tagg (1979) provides not only a short list, but also enumerates seven points to define folk music, popular music, and art music in an effort to provide a solid definition for each (pp. 20-27). Subsequently, Tagg adds a chart to show these points (1982, p.42). The comparative points listed by Tagg are: professional status of performer; whether the music is mass-produced; main mode of storage and distribution; type of society in which the category of music mostly occurs; main Twentieth Century mode of financing music production and distribution; whether the music is subjected to theoretical and aesthetical examination; and whether the composer is known (1979, pp.20-27).

Examining Tagg's points, he first asserts that most popular music is produced and transmitted by professionals (1982, p.42). In contrast to this, Cohen states that folk music: "...[H]as evolved at the hands of the unsophisticated community in some unselfconscious manner; that with the possible exception of its creation, it exists in oral, not written, media and that it is characterized by variation (so there is no 'correct' version)" (2012, unpaginated). Although many bagpipers are "professional" in name only (discussed in detail later), they are often "professionally trained" in some type of formalized, if not formal, educational environment, like "art" musicians, but unlike most "folk" musicians.

Tagg's second test, mass distribution, applies to popular music, but to neither folk nor art music. The popular music industry's goal is to sell albums, not to create art (Tagg, 1892, p.41). While folk and art music are occasional beneficiaries of mass production, widespread distribution is not a primary goal of either genre. Some GHB albums are distributed by commercial companies, but the distributors target a niche market, and do not appear to aggressively promote GHB music, or indeed, any kind of music other than popular music.

His third item, main mode of storage and distribution, has three categories. Folk musicians use oral transmission. Popular music is usually stored and transmitted by recordings. Art music is most often stored and distributed through written music. While GHB music employs all three methods of storage, by far the most prominent method is through written music, as evidenced by the large number of GHB music collections currently available. Furthermore, competitive bagpipers typically receive and learn new music via the written score.

Fourth, Tagg compares three types of society in which music most frequently occurs: nomadic or agrarian; agrarian and industrial; and industrial. He argues that folk music is most often experienced in the first category, art music is experienced in agrarian and industrial society, and popular music is consumed mostly in an industrialized society. Given that the United States, and in fact most countries where competitive bagpiping exists, is an industrialized society, abundantly experiencing all three genres of music, this category cannot readily be applied as a test.

Tagg's fifth test concerns financing of the genre. Folk music is listed as being financed independently of any monetary economy, art music depends on public funding, and popular music is produced by free enterprise. Admittedly there is much carryover in this category between the three music genres. However, it may be

observed that most professional art music, especially opera and orchestral music depends on public subscription for support, while folk music is most frequently performed without consideration for financial implications. Popular music is powered by free enterprise. Hamm, Walser, Warwick and Garrett (2014) report that the popular music industry is almost completely dominated by the exploitive commercial practices of four multinational corporations (unpaginated). It is difficult to imagine a Madonna concert being funded through charitable donations instead of ticket sales. Competitive GHB music is supported almost exclusively through the benevolence of Highland games, or in some cases, such as major solo competitions, by independent bagpiping organizations like the Midwest Highland Arts Fund, which sponsors the “Winter Storm” competition and workshop.⁴

Tagg’s sixth point addresses theory and aesthetics. Theoretical and aesthetical considerations are common in art music, but uncommon in folk and popular music. The fact that competitive GHB music is judged places GHB music alongside art music in this category.

Finally, the composer is usually unknown in folk music, especially in older works, but almost always known in art and popular music. As discussed earlier, the composers of most GHB music are known, either by fact or by tradition.

Based on these seven comparisons, I argue that competitive GHB music, with its formalized training of musicians, predominantly written storage and transmission, benevolent public support, critical adjudication, and known composer, may be most closely identified as “art music.” The implications of this determination impact the distribution and growth of competitive bagpiping, as examined in Chapter IV.

⁴ Retrieved on January 26, 2014 from <http://www.winterstorm.net>

Authenticity

In making further decisions about the parameters of my research, I had to determine the extent to which various questions of authenticity, a popular topic of research in some music studies, was pertinent, not to music studies in general, but to this study specifically. Authenticity, an interesting as well as controversial subject, has been extensively examined (Butt, 2014; Cook, 1998; Johnson, 2000; Kivy, 1995; Percival, 2010; Roeder, 2004; Taylor, 1997). Despite my growing fascination with this subject, I did not view most questions about authenticity from a performance, composition, historical, proprietary, or pedagogical perspective as directly pertinent to my research questions, even though the subject is, out of necessity, addressed occasionally. My rationale for placing authenticity in a peripheral role is discussed next.

If performance authenticity were to be examined, the fact that most bagpipers wear a tartan kilt as performance attire, although most tartans are Nineteenth Century inventions, and that many pipe bands adopt a pseudo-military uniform when there is no direct military connection to most pipe bands, immediately casts a jaundiced light on the concept of performance authenticity (Trevor-Roper, 2008). Upton (2015), prefers the term “historically informed performance” to describe the move in many classical music circles to present compositions on period instruments (p.1), a phenomenon that does not occur in current bagpiping competition. Taken from a different angle, that of the composer-performer relationship, the level of performance authenticity can be assessed based on the accurate presentation of “[W]hat the composer had to ‘say’” (Davies, 2003, p.55). Showing apparent disregard for the composer’s intent, bagpipers appear to place much greater stock in the guidance of

the performer's immediate teacher (MacLellan, A., personal interview, March 4, 2011).

In terms of composition authenticity, if to qualify as "authentic" a work must be original and singular, free of derivation, then the formulaic nature of GHB music would seem to disqualify it from consideration as "authentic" (Baugh, 1988, p.482). Such a definition appears to describe the music of the Surbahar and the Sitar (Griska, personal interview, December 16, 2014). This does not prove that GHB compositions are inauthentic; merely that they do not line up with one current definition of compositional authenticity.

From the perspective of historical authenticity, the instrument itself has evolved in the last three hundred years, from a non-standard instrument of one to three drones, to a standard three drone instrument, the pitch of which has steadily risen over the past 100 years. It is unlikely that anyone would seriously consider playing a "period" instrument in a modern competition.⁵ Furthermore, few GHB teachers spend significant time teaching their students about the history of the instrument, perhaps because in the limited time most teachers are able to spend with their students, they decide practical application is more important than history. As a result, many bagpipers labour under historical inaccuracies or misconceptions. However, while these occasionally affect a participant's understanding of the background, in practice they appear to do little to inhibit a student's progress on the instrument.

Even many aspects of the bagpiping "culture," which originated in the Scottish Highlands, were coopted by Sir Walter Scott and others during the "tartan

⁵ At the Dunvegan Medal competition at the 1996 Portree Highland Games, piper Barnaby Brown competed playing what he claimed was a reproduction of a period instrument from the Eighteenth Century.

revival” of the Nineteenth Century (Trevor-Roper, 2008). The repertoire of the GHB already existed, but the culture within which the GHB now resides is purely invented.

Examining proprietary authenticity, although it was once claimed that only native Scots could play the GHB (Chicago Tribune, 1934, p.1), the question, “Can non-Scots play GHB music in an authentic manner?” has been addressed positively by The College of Piping, whose *College of Piping Tutor, Part 1*, has been translated into French, German, and Italian.⁶ Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, and American pipers and pipe bands have appeared in the prize lists in almost every competition in Scotland for many years.

Regarding pedagogical authenticity, “To what extent is GHB music taught as it was originally played?” this question, researched extensively by Allan MacDonald (1995), is not directly pertinent to this thesis because the specifics of GHB music interpretation are not part of the research questions. The fact that prior to the Nineteenth Century all bagpipe music was taught via oral transmission, and that many successful modern teachers practice diverse teaching methods, further excludes pedagogy from considerations of authenticity.

Chhabra’s (2001), description of “staged authenticity,” the concept that an event or a performance does not lose its authenticity simply because it is staged, certainly applies to Highland games. However, as will be demonstrated later, Twenty First Century Highland games in the United States are not authentic presentations of any historical event. Rather, they are authentic presentations of a living art form.

It is nevertheless important to discuss briefly how authenticity is viewed by members of the bagpiping community, but for the purposes of the current research,

⁶ Retrieved on March 15, 2014 from: <http://shop.collegeofpiping.org/tutor-books?limit=all>

this topic may be dealt with in a straightforward manner. While the outer trappings of the community, such as the traditionally worn kilt and the historical repertoire, are important, they are not vital components of authenticity, as evidenced by the diverse cultural variety and deviation practiced by bagpipers throughout the world, giving rise to what Percival (2010) refers to as “conflicting authenticities” (p.210). Rather, because the bagpiping community is a living, evolving affinity group, authenticity may be relevantly viewed relative to a perceived somewhat nebulous ideal of musical excellence. The accepted musical standard of excellence emanates largely from the premier competitive venues in Scotland, and although this standard is not held universally by all pipers, it is certainly the dominant view. This is especially true in the worldwide competitive bagpiping community, and specifically in the competitive bagpiping community in the United States, which this thesis seeks to study.

If one can achieve an authentic experience of Disney World (Carson, 2004; Nooshin, 2004), there is no reason to suggest questions of authenticity should not apply when studying the GHB. As such, concepts of authenticity are occasionally discussed in this thesis, to the extent they aid in a more comprehensive understanding of American views and perceptions of bagpiping. However, while arguments supporting or refuting various types of authenticity are fascinating, and certainly deserve a thorough examination, they often do not directly apply to the topics at hand, namely the historical introduction and development of bagpiping in the United States, and the current pedagogical practices of the culture. Therefore, while various manifestations of authenticity are occasionally mentioned in this research, authenticity should not be viewed as a major component in itself.

The Scottish Bagpiping Community

As a foundation for the present research, the concept of community must be defined. Once geographically localized, Lornell (2012), describes traditional musical communities as: "...[A] generally loose-knit, often eclectic group of people coalescing around a shared specific musical interest" (p.70). With the development of an increasingly mobile society, the term "community" has been reformulated to take on a global definition, no longer requiring a specific geographic location (Correll, 1995, p.299). O'Flynn (2007) posits that all community boundaries, whether local, national, or global are constructed, or rather "imagined" (p.21). Shelemay (2011), provides several possible definitions for the term "community," arguing that the term has become ambiguous in musical research (p.9). At first glance, the definition most closely satisfactory for this work is that of an "affinity community," described as, "...a community that emerges first and foremost from individual preferences..." among whose individual preferences she includes "...sheer sonic attraction..." (Shelemay, 2011, p.21). Slobin (1993), cites a supporting example of an entrant into an affinity community, a former student of his, who, "...[A]fter simply hearing a Highland bagpipe band outside her window, became so attracted to the music that she became a professional piper" (p.56). Many of the respondents to this current research cite sonic attraction as one of their primary motivators for initial entry into the bagpiping community. However, while Shelemay's definition and Slobin's anecdote initially appear to describe aspects of the bagpiping community, Shelemay adds the restriction that individual preference is "...[Q]uickly followed by a desire for social proximity or association with others equally enamored. ...and for the sense of belonging and prestige that this affiliation offers" (2011, pp.21-22). This description does not fit the experience of many people in the bagpiping community.

Pivotal to her definition is the word “desire,” suggesting conscious intent. Admittedly, many entrants into the bagpiping community enjoy participating in pipe bands, and value the camaraderie found in these groups, but a conscious desire for “belonging” is almost never revealed as a primary motive. Shelemay (2011), later adds an additional restriction to her definition, stating that, “...[A]lmost without exception, an affinity community rests in the talent and charisma of a powerful musical figure, forging collectivities of followers through the leader’s living presence and, after his or her death, through memories of their music and impact” (p.25). Shelemay’s restriction is problematic, because the primary intent of her paper was to provide new liberties in the definition of the term, “community” as it applies to musical groups, but her restrictive caveat of a personality driven group clearly limits her definition so extremely that the bagpiping community is immediately disqualified as an affinity community, there being no recognized personage who fits Shelemay’s description.⁷ Irwin (1973) suggests the term “scene” to describe a configuration of well-known group behavior patterns, meanings, and understandings (p.131). This description at least partially portrays the Highland games environment, and the term is employed by Gardner (2004) to describe American bluegrass festivals (p.161). Additionally, Gardner (2004) coins the term “portable community” to define the periodic, transient nature of festivals such as these (pp.163-164). However, while Irwin and Gardner help to inform our general understanding, the bagpiping community appears in multiple environments, not just at Highland games. Not having a satisfactorily applicable definition of “community” that applies seamlessly

⁷ A survey conducted in 2002-2003 on the “Bob Dunsire” GHB forum, asked the question, “Who was the most famous bagpiper in history?” The results produced more than fifty different names, with no clear favourite. Retrieved, January 20, 2014:

<http://forums.bobdunsire.com/forums/showthread.php?t=81699&highlight=famous>

to the bagpiping community, it falls upon the researcher to provide his own definition, as initially recommended by Shelemay (2011, p.2).

For the purposes of this thesis, “community,” as it applies to the bagpiping world, is the worldwide collective population of people who play the GHB, perhaps better defined as a macro-community.⁸ Within the macro-community, several illustrations of smaller regional or national groups appear, which could also be termed communities, such as the EUSPBA. Yet again, within that community, there would be micro-communities, which, of course, would be pipe bands. Within all aspects of the community, but especially within the micro-community, a sense of belonging and affiliation would likely be achieved as a byproduct of the functions and practices of pipe bands and Highland games, as well as of other events and environments in which transmission takes place, but it must be reiterated, this sense of belonging is not usually a consciously desired goal in itself.

Cultural Transmission and Perpetuation

Americans enter into the Scottish bagpiping community for numerous, often contrasting, reasons. Competitor and teacher Neil Conway asserts that most Americans’ first exposure to the GHB is listening to a pipe band participating in a parade (Conway, May 1992, p.14). While this is perhaps still true for many casual observers, the rise in popularity of the GHB could indicate that many people are initially exposed to the sound of the pipes by a neighbor or even a relative practicing. In the case of members of already enculturated families, the initial contact with the instrument often takes place in the home. Anecdotally, as a first generation

⁸ The prefixes “macro” and “micro” to define group size appears to be a popular practice of Community Development Theory in the field of sociology, and also in social work discussions (Asher, 2003; Fine & Harrington, 2004; Tan, 2009; Wyne, 2006). I was not able to find the terms “micro-community” or “macro-community” in studies of musical communities, but these terms seem to adequately fit the purposes and definitions of this thesis.

American, I was initially exposed to the GHB because my father played the GHB. My children, also pipers, were exposed to the music because I play the GHB. Many of their friends heard me play before they ever went to a parade. Although a personal story, it is not an isolated one.

This dissertation, however, is concerned with transmission rather than mere exposure. Transmission, a term used frequently in ethnomusicology, is more than exposure, assuming some type of new learning on the part of the recipient (Bohlman, 1988; Nettl, 1982; Shelemay, 1996; Zelewicz, 2006). The clearest and most obvious environment for the transmission of bagpiping culture would appear to be the music studio, but transmission of bagpiping culture goes far beyond student/teacher interaction in the studio. Szego (2002) states, "...[M]usic transmission, an ethnomusicological (sic) term, necessarily involves elements of teaching and learning, although in many musical practices these occur in informal, rather than formal, settings" (p.707). The transmission of bagpiping and its culture occurs through several methods and numerous environments. For many people entering the bagpiping community, their first point of contact is through attendance at a Highland games or gathering. Highland gatherings, and later, Highland games in North America, have been held almost since the first presence of Scots on the continent. Most attendees assume they are participating in an authentic representation of traditional Scottish culture, and to a degree, they are correct (Chhabra, 2001). Webster (1986) states, "Looking back, although many things have changed dramatically, the great traditions and practices of Scottish Highland Games have largely been kept intact. The activities have spread far from the mountains and glens, but they have kept the character and charisma that have thrilled Scots over the centuries" (p.10). Many things *have* changed dramatically in the transmission of

gatherings and games from Scotland to the United States, not the least of which being the presence of solo and pipe band competitions at the same venue. This phenomenon remains almost completely foreign to Scotland, where the competitive bagpiping community could almost be separated into two independent groups travelling on parallel lines. On the day of the World Pipe Band Championships, for instance, at least four Highland games take place in Scotland featuring professional solo competition. Having personally competed at three of these events, I saw no evidence of any interest whatsoever in the proceedings of the World Pipe Band Championships. On the other hand, the Jackson Highland Games in Wyoming are also held on the same day as the World Pipe Band Championships, but because of the intense American interest in all aspects of competitive bagpiping culture, and thanks to wireless cell phone technology, the results of the competition in Glasgow were broadcast on the field in Jackson to an excited crowd within moments of being announced in Scotland.

As will be illustrated in Part II, Chapter VII, the specific transmission of GHB music takes place in many ways and in many environments. Traditionally, the student-teacher relationship, as seen in the music studio has been the predominant method for GHB music transmission. More recently, the development of music summer camps and group lessons in a pipe band context have added learning opportunities. The development of technology has given prospective students new, innovative ways of connecting with teachers. Lessons via tape recording, once the only opportunity for many isolated students to gain instruction, have given way to Skype lessons as a popular method of distance learning. In 1991, the GHB began to be accepted within the halls of higher education. Carnegie Mellon University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, instituted the first college degree for bagpiping, in 1991,

graduating its first student in 1996. By 2014, almost a dozen colleges and universities have offered some type of curricular credit for GHB courses.

Aesthetics

Finally, the subject of aesthetics presented another research decision. Philosophically, art and music aesthetics has been well-examined and defined (Hamilton, 2007 and 2009; Langer, 1957; Meyer, 1956; Reimer, 2003), although there remains much debate on the subject. Tagg (1982) discusses the difficulty of addressing both the intellectual and the emotional aspects of musical experience. Clayton (2003) states: "... [V]erbalizing intense musical experiences is as difficult, and perhaps as futile, as verbalizing other moments of emotional intensity" (p.62).

I had to decide to what extent I was willing to examine the generally professed sentiment of unabashed love expressed by many respondents when asked why they began to play the GHB. Stating feelings in effusive terms does not define the term. "I fell in love with the sound" was the answer given by most pipers, but questions requesting further clarification of such highly emotional descriptions were usually met with bewilderment. Reimer (2003) argues that this is a perfectly acceptable and appropriate response (p.45). One respondent surmised there might be acoustical properties in the intense sawtooth wave produced by the GHB, which, when magnified by the loud volume of the chanter and underpinned by the constant, hypnotic hum of the drones, subsequently cause dopamine or endorphin production in the brains of certain listeners, leading to an acute perception of positive emotional response, which some respondents describe as "love." However, the other respondents' comments merely magnified the subjective nature of a subjective sentiment. I felt it was important to present the initial findings, because bagpipers themselves speak in such terms, and because the emotional attachment bagpipers

profess for their instrument is important to them, but I decided qualifying and quantifying the word “love” from an aesthetic perspective is a topic deserving of its own dedicated research project.

METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

During the course of my research, I encountered three notable methodological challenges. These were: a lack of scholarly practice in the available literature; potential for insider bias; and examples of outsider misinterpretation.

Lack of Scholarly Approach

In researching this thesis, I found an admitted lack of concern over scholarly practice in much of the literature associated with general Scottish culture. As an example, historian David Webster (1986), states: “In outlining the development of the games, I have used an anecdotal, not an academic, approach to the early period, since it is now almost impossible to separate fact from fiction. By doing so, I may unwittingly confound scholars looking for material that can be indisputably authenticated” (p.10). Webster’s admission in no way diminishes the value of his observations and findings. One of the foundational principles of ethnographic research requires the researcher to collect data in the form of honest anecdotal perceptions of the informants, realizing that this data might not present a completely accurate, unbiased, and factual description of the phenomena being observed (Gay, Mills, and Airasian, 2006, p.9). While researchers must be aware of this informant bias, the danger in anecdotal observations is not so much that such observations might be inaccurate, as that the researcher might not understand them to be what they are: true from the perspective of the respondent. Hermansson (2003) identifies this concern, noting that while reliability was rarely a concern having previously verified

the original source in most cases, validity was more problematic, since many of the written sources were not produced for scholarly purposes, and might have been biased (p.15). Hermansson's observation speaks to the difference between quantitative reliability and validity, and qualitative trustworthiness (Seale, 1999, p.266). One key to understanding the source and assessing these issues is to understand the intended audience. Most books and periodicals concerning the GHB, as well as program notes for such things as CD jackets, are written by bagpipers for bagpipers or for non-playing GHB enthusiasts. They are not written by scholars for scholars.

Perceived Insider Bias

The second challenge to this study was that of insider bias. The benefits and dangers of insider research have been extensively examined (Gay, Mills, & Airasian 2006; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson 2006; Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam 2003; Strauss & Corbin 1998). Music, like all art, cannot be studied in the sterility of a laboratory, and unlike a scientific researcher conducting a clinical study, the music researcher will inevitably be affected by his subject. Hellawell (2006) cautions the insider to maintain an attitude of objectivity in research, to stand outside one's own writing, maintaining sensitive self-reflexivity, and awareness of one's relation to the research (p.483). Although this view is valid on a certain level, it is impossible, once exposed to a culture, to maintain a position of complete disinterest and objectivity. This is true even more when the researcher is a cultural insider. The requirement on the part of the insider researcher, therefore, is not to maintain a sense of complete objectivity, which is, in any case, impossible, but to be aware of the presence and potential danger of insider subjectivity, and to recognize that subjectivity when it occurs. Mehra (2002) suggests that insider subjectivity is an important and valuable

component of research, despite the traditional positivist paradigm that asserts the researcher should have no personal connection to the subject being researched, or that the sole valid motive justifying the researcher's interest is intellectual curiosity (unpaginated). Mehra states: "...[M]ore often than not, we have our personal beliefs and views about a topic - either in support of one side of the argument, or on the social, cultural, political sub-texts that seem to guide the development of the argument" (2002, unpaginated).

With few exceptions, practically all of the scholarly research on the GHB to date has been conducted by members of the bagpiping community, and almost all other sources of a non-academic nature specifically concerning the GHB are from within the Scottish bagpiping community. This present research is no different in that regard. As a professional competing piper, judge, and piping instructor, I am certainly an insider to the competitive bagpiping community, with my own subjective views and biases. This circumstance immediately brings up the concern of insider bias, which Hermansson (2003), who considers himself both a researcher and an insider to the bagpiping community, addresses and justifies:

Although I have tried to consider my dual position as piper and musicologist, the reader too is asked to be aware of it. Unfortunately, this is not always observed in more traditional musicological areas, such as Western art music, which is strange considering that most modern musicologists seem to agree that music cannot exist without its context and that is bound in culture (p.7).

Implicit in Hermansson's comment is the confirmation that no researcher can be completely insulated from insider bias in music research. Furthermore, qualitative ethnographic research is not conducted in the sterility of the laboratory, and to pretend otherwise suggests disingenuousness on the part of the researcher. In each example, the key appears to be not complete objectivity, but rather, awareness of inevitable researcher subjectivity. Hermansson's and Mehra's comments indicate that

complete objectivity is not only unattainable, it is not desirable. Rather, what is important, as Helawell observes, is the ability to recognize one's own subjectivity and bias through sensitivity and self-reflection. This caveat applies to outsiders as well as insiders. As a piping adjudicator, I am trained to be aware of and to identify my own subjective musical views and biases, which as a researcher I have tried to do in the course of this study.

One perhaps unexpected aspect of insider bias pertains to the bias generated by the members of the researched culture. The bagpiping world tends to be a relatively closed society, and Hermansson (2003) observed a general feeling of mistrust within the bagpiping community toward people writing about bagpiping, especially those writers who were not known pipers themselves: "Talking to pipers in Scotland about well-known musicologists who have done research on piping, I have been met with expressions like: 'I haven't heard that *he* is a good player', or 'Does he *play* at all?'" (p.21). This attitude exists largely because the piping world is so competition driven. A strongly held view by many in the bagpiping world is that success in competition is the sole factor determining one's right to speak about the culture. An additional measure of distrust comes from the bagpiping community because of a prevalence of misinterpretation by outsiders writing about the community. Bagpipers as a rule are very protective, not necessarily of themselves, but of their instrument. Because of often derogatory or uncomplimentary journalism, pipers tend to look with distrust upon anybody seeking to write about the GHB. Folk musician and researcher Janice Waldron (2008), a cultural insider to the Goderich Celtic College, observed this phenomenon, claiming that the accessibility granted to her as an insider afforded her a much higher degree of ecological validity, which she considered to be a worthwhile compromise against potential insider bias (p.61).

One aspect of insider bias I was not expecting was my need to try to see past the cultural bias and objectionable treatment of Scottish culture. I was offended by the often disparaging tone with which several writers, among them Nairn (1977) and Zumkhawala-Cook (2005), approached various aspects of Scottish cultural heritage. As one example, Goldie (2010) refers to tartan in terms such as "...[S]entimental vulgarity..." and "...[G]auche inappropriateness" (p.232). I found the tone of Goldie's paper and several others like it distasteful and juvenile. That comments such as these would survive the draft stage and make it into a finished publication mocks scholarship. At times I had to force myself to rise above my indignation to read *what* the writer was saying, instead of *how* he was saying it, my conscious goal being to take each writer's content on its own merits, disregarding sometimes objectionable tone. I am not convinced I was always successful in this endeavour, but the fact that I include these sources as references indicates I have been largely successful in maintaining an attitude of objectivity in this regard.

Every life experience influences a person's perspective. A sensitive researcher will perceive the effect of these influences, maintaining a constant vigilance of self-reflection while conducting research.

Outsider Misinterpretation

If insider research is subject to bias, outsider research can be subject to misinterpretation. A person who doesn't understand the intricacies of context might never realize an interpretation was out of context in the first place. Certainly, one of the purposes of a thorough literature review is to adequately inform the researcher, not only of the state of research within the art itself, but of the state of the art in general. Mere scholarship, however, is no guarantee of accuracy or of understanding, as revealed in statements made by researcher Emily Donaldson

(1986) describing the development of solo GHB competitions in the United States, “A small number of Games offer competition in jig, hornpipe and jig, or 6/8 march as well” (p.117). Donaldson wrote this in 1986, but most Highland games in the United States had actually begun offering these events well before 1986. Although outsider research can be valid, and often has the advantage of being untainted by preconceived ideas or agendas on the part of the insider, this example presents one potential hazard of cultural research by a complete outsider.⁹ Unlike the purely quantitative environment of the scientific researcher, the qualitative world of the ethnographer is often overflowing with minor details, the likes of which can easily be misconstrued or misunderstood by the outsider.

Another example of outsider misinterpretation may be seen in the treatment of GHBs by non-bagpipers. In *The Uniforms and History of the Scottish Regiments*, Barnes (1956) describes the Rout of Moy, but makes no mention of the death of Donald Ban MacCrimmon, the famed piper to the Clan MacLeod, the sole casualty in the skirmish. Treating the entire battle with levity, Barnes states, “The immediate result was a disorderly flight, which is remembered to this day as one of the few humorous incidents in an otherwise somber campaign” (1956, p.58). The Rout of Moy was certainly an insignificant event from a tactical perspective, but the death of Donald Ban MacCrimmon was of great importance to piping. This is one of the many examples of a perhaps otherwise sensitive and dedicated historian disregarding the GHB as a component of history. Even more perplexing are the myriad sources pertaining to Scotland and Scottish history and culture which make no mention of the GHB whatsoever.

⁹ Even with an outsider, preconception is frequently the case, as evidenced by frequent denigrations of the GHB by journalists and news reporters, who are “supposed” to be unbiased.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To my knowledge, to date there have been no published studies on any aspect of GHB pedagogy, and no published academic work dedicated to the transmission of Scottish bagpiping to or within the United States. Very little scholarly study has been conducted on any aspect of the GHB, although with the recent development of several academic degrees for or related to bagpiping and other Scottish arts, the body of research and academic literature on this genre of music is steadily, if slowly, increasing. This is not to say that the current field lacks in diligent, cogent work. One could argue that the first piece of scholarly work on the GHB was Joseph MacDonald's book, *A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe*, written in 1767 and published posthumously by his brother in 1803 (MacDonald, 1927, p.vii). In addition, The Highland Society of London, founded in 1778, and the Piobaireachd Society, founded in 1903, have sought to expand the body of GHB knowledge since their inception (Collinson, 1975, pp.161, 179). Much of the work of these two bodies has focused on the preservation and analysis of piobaireachd, which continues to be of primary interest to competing bagpipers. Also, many bagpipers have independently published books of composition, frequently at their own expense, since Joseph MacDonald wrote down the first GHB music in staff notation, and these books, which contributed greatly to the growth and development of bagpiping as an art form, continue to be of inestimable value from a historical and a performance perspective. The information sponsored by the Highland Society of London was, and in the case of the Piobaireachd Society, continues to be painstakingly and diligently developed, and is of tremendous value as a resource for scholars as well as casually interested individuals.

Perhaps the earliest modern academic research concerning the GHB was in acoustics, the field being revolutionized by Ellis (1885). Specific work on the GHB scale was conducted by researchers such as Cornish (1952), Lenihan and MacNeill (1954), and others, although research on acoustics is not of direct value to this dissertation.

Concerning the nature and current state of scholarship in the bagpiping world, although several older works are cited throughout this dissertation, serious academic research on the subject of bagpiping is in its infancy. Regarding older works, a researcher of the present day must sometimes look beyond their level of scholarship. Musicologist James Merryweather presents an example of many modern scholars who sometimes discount the value of previous scholarship. Writing about researcher William H. Gratton Flood's work in "The Story of the GHB," Merryweather scathingly accuses Flood of "...irrational reasoning and shameless massage of texts and translations..." (Merryweather, 2002, unpaginated). Referring to Flood's scholarship, Merryweather states:

Today, we consider such nonsensical logic process to be quaint, perhaps worth reading in search of ammunition with which to discredit the work, but the Grattan Flood approach survives today where academic discipline is absent, and false histories continue to emerge and worse, find their way into print which imbues them with impressive but unwarranted authority (2002, unpaginated).

Flood's level of scholarship is not equal to modern standards of academic rigor, primarily because he does not exhaustively cite his sources, but to accuse Flood of creating false history unfairly maligns a valuable historical work. In Flood's defence, his book was part of a popular music series, not intended to be a purely academic work. That some of Flood's historical facts may have since been proven incorrect merely indicates that increased scholarship sometimes results in new knowledge. If the modern researcher takes into account the level of academic

scholarship in music during the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century, and accepts these older works as valid scholarship of the time, then this research may be safely viewed as an aid to further scholarly inquiry, and as a portal into scholarship of the past. Such research should not be accepted unquestioningly, but neither should it simply be discarded without appraisal. Rather, Merryweather's comments should serve as a reminder that no research should be accepted without question.

Historical Works

Historical musicologist William H. Gratton Flood (1911) claims to be the first historian to broadly address the general history of the GHB as a musical instrument (p.vii). Flood's book, *The Story of the GHB*, includes many early references to the GHB in general and to the GHB in particular. Manson (1901), and Fraser (1907), predate Flood, but deal exclusively with the GHB, rather than with GHBs in general. Their works, as well as those of many others which only mention GHBs or Scottish diaspora briefly or in passing (Alford, 1936; Boscawen 1886, 1895; Brickell, 1737; Cooper, 1853; Cortona, 1809; Day, 1891,1894; Griswold, 1856; Ker, 1920; Lunn. 1866; MacDonald, 1822; Munro, 1923; Stainer, 1882; Thomson, 1817; Walker, 1786; Weston, 1811; Williams, 1916; Wilson, 1867), are long out of print. Original editions are usually unavailable, but electronic copies, now in the public domain, may be obtained on various online archive web sites. Because these documents represent the scholarship of their day, they do not necessarily conform to modern standards of academic rigor; however, they are not without value in a historical context.

Several modern writers provide well documented academic sources which have been important to the development of this dissertation. Baines (1960), Campbell (1948), Cheape (2000, 2008), Collinson (1975), Dickson (2006, 2009),

Donaldson (2000, 2005), Gibson, (1998, 2002), Hermansson (2003), Kallman, Kopstein, and McMillan (1992), MacDonald (2004), McKerrell (2005), and MacNeill (1968, 2008), tackle various practical aspects of bagpiping, including historical, and cultural components, and while occasionally disagreeing on some minor detail, present a largely unified picture of the GHB, its history, and its culture. MacDonald's book, *40 year History of the USPBA/EUSPBA, 1964-2004*, in particular provided vital foundational information on the historical development of the EUSPBA.

The Highland Bagpipe: Music, History, Tradition, an anthology of shorter academic works edited by Joshua Dickson (2006), contains a variety of GHB-related subjects, ranging from score analysis to practice chanter reed production. Several of these works are pertinent to this present study. Specific writers cited include Cheape, "Traditional Origins of the Piping Dynasties" (pp.97-126); Dickson's own contribution, "'Tullochgorm' Transformed: A Case Study in Revivalism and the Highland Pipe" (pp.191-220); Forrest, "The Making of GHB Reeds and Practice Chanters in South Uist" (pp.71-94); and Paterson, "Return of the Drone: A Folk Thing?" (pp.221-252).

Additionally, Baines (1960) and Collinson (1975), mentioned above, join others such as Barnes (1956), Donaldson (1986), Sachs (1940), and Webster (1973, 2011) in placing the GHB into a wider musical and historical context.

Barnes (1956) illuminates the connection between the British military and bagpiping in *The Uniforms and History of the Scottish Regiments*, and was most helpful in establishing a timeline for the development of bagpiping in Scotland. As a military professional, Barnes shows a high level of accuracy in historical detail, but

as a non-piper, he appears to err in minute detail concerning the specifics of the GHB.

Emily Donaldson (1986), author of *The Scottish Highland Games in America*, examines the history of the Highland games in America, and devotes a section to the presentation of qualitative research into customs and attitudes of American participants in the GHB culture. Although filled with statistics, her conversational tone suggests a work outside the strict parameters of academia.

In *Scottish Highland Games* (1973) and *The World History of Highland Games* (2011), historian David Webster provides an anecdotal history of the development of Highland games in Scotland, as well as the worldwide Scottish diaspora. As with Barnes and Donaldson, Webster speaks authoritatively as an insider to Scottish culture, but as an outsider to bagpiping culture, when writing about the GHB and pipe bands, he occasionally errs in minute detail.

The most valuable written source for this thesis was the *Voice* magazine, the publication of the EUSPBA. The *Voice*, published quarterly, contains a vast number of articles reaching back more than 20 years. Although most of these articles are not written as academic works, they present a wide array of subjects, especially in the fields of pedagogy and history. Many of the articles are interviews with older piping teachers and judges, revealing bagpiping history from long before the inception of the EUSPBA. In studying the origins and teaching practices of American piping, this resource proved indispensable, owing to its heavy emphasis on education. Many of the articles concern some aspect of GHB instruction. Pertinent material was used from more than 100 contributors to the *Voice*. Many of these writers were cited only once, but several were quoted from more than one article. The most prolific writers, not surprisingly, were the ones who are also known in the Eastern United States as

exceptional, dedicated teachers, and these writers' work was most often cited in this dissertation. These include Michael Green and David J.S. Murray (five articles); John Bottomley, Maureen Connor, Paula Glendinning, and Michael Rogers (six articles); Vincent Janoski (eight articles); June Hanley (nine articles); James McIntosh, MBE (eleven articles); and Nancy Tunnicliffe (fifteen articles). Several drummers were cited, including Alan Chatto (five articles), and John Quigg (six articles). These numbers represent only a small portion of the total number of contributions these writers made to the *Voice*. In addition to publishing articles on history and pedagogy, the *Voice* invites debate within the bagpiping community on topics such as judging qualifications, competitive event requirements, the importance of community involvement in the larger Scottish-American culture, and national differences in musical presentation.

Also of interest, although to a lesser degree, is the *Piping Times*, the magazine of the College of Piping, Glasgow, Scotland. This magazine, first published in 1948, contains a wide variety of GHB related articles. These articles, usually written in a conversational tone, are no less important as primary source material. Only a few were pertinent to this study, but these provided a Scottish perspective on American bagpiping.

In contrast to the widespread general agreement found in most sources, a few writers present views in opposition to the popularly accepted history of the GHB, casting doubt on prevailing traditional dogma. The first is Alasdair Campsie (1980), whose book, *The MacCrimmon Legend*, purports to be a scholarly document, complete with extensive footnotes and references. However, the overall tone of the work suggests otherwise. Rather than present his arguments, some of which seem to have a measure of credibility, in an objective fashion, he seems to go out of his way

to ridicule men who are considered respected authorities in the world of bagpiping. It would have been a simple matter to present his arguments in a respectful and professional tone, but apparently Campsie prefers a more strident one. Sifting through his work, while attempting to separate possibly valid theory from personal attack, one perceives Campsie is more concerned with sarcastically attacking teachers of his own day than with presenting an argument in defense of his historical assertions. In *The MacCrimmon Pipers of Skye*, Campbell (2000) presents a strong rebuttal to Campsie, at least in tone. While thoughtfully affirming some of Campsie's assertions, Campbell tempers Campsie's claims with more recent research, discounting the notion that the MacCrimmon story should be discarded out of hand.

Musicologist James Merryweather (2002) presents an iconoclastic view of bagpiping history. In his article, "Regional Bagpipes: History or Bunk?" he challenges many traditions as unverifiable, given the lack of hard supporting evidence for many of them. The assertion that if something cannot be unequivocally documented it must be discounted, should be approached with caution, especially when discussing such a historically marginal, and often trivialized subject as the GHB.

One of the challenges to this research came from the fact that, although the GHB is an integral, if marginal, component of Scottish and American history and culture, both Scottish and American history and culture exist independently of the GHB. This can be observed in the numerous detailed studies of Scottish and American history and culture which fail to even mention the GHB. Even though the history of the GHB in Scotland is well documented in books dedicated specifically to the GHB, this dearth of non-bagpiping sources, especially in the field of American

history, required me to piece together a chronicle of the GHB in the United States. Many of these general histories, although of immense value as an historical foundation for further research, completely ignore the presence of the GHB in the United States. Therefore, I had to reach into several peripherally related subjects, including Scottish immigration to the United States, diaspora studies, and genealogy.

If scarcity of sources concerning the GHB presented an issue, finding records of early immigrants' self-perceptions and views on their culture presented an even greater challenge. While volumes of documents exist detailing the lives of significant persons, or "elites," prior to the middle of the Twentieth Century the chroniclers of the day had little interest in writing about the culture of the common people, or "non-elites," and these "non-elites," especially those on the frontier, were far too busy with the challenges of day to day survival to write about themselves. Furthermore, Monaghan (2005) posits that although literacy in the American colonies was generally high, approaching 100% of the white male population in urban areas such as Boston, the educational focus of "non-elites" was on reading rather than on composition, a skill which was not emphasized during colonial times. Thanks to the work of John Sinclair and John Robertson, *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland* provide occasional glimpses into the daily life and views of the common Scotsman of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, but no one in the United States thought to undertake such a project.¹⁰ While scant records exist describing the general circumstances of how Americans lived, no broad survey exists of their cultural self-perceptions and self-reflections. Thus, the researcher is left with the problematic task of piecing together a puzzle using what genealogical researchers describe as "negative evidence" (Carr, 2000, p.54).

¹⁰ *The Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, of which there were three, were comprehensive surveys of the condition of Scottish parishes. First conducted in 1790-1799, the surveys included occasional responses describing the culture of the common people.

Nevertheless, several excellent sources present a broad history of Scottish immigration to the United States. Perhaps the single most valuable source on Scottish immigration and assimilation is Rowland Berthoff (1982), an American educator and historian, who presents in his article, “Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground,” a linear history of the development of Scottish Highland games in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century America. Primarily situated in the mid to late Nineteenth Century, this exceptionally well-documented paper cites several Scottish and Scottish-American periodicals and newspapers of the time. Although his references to the GHB are few, based on a cross check of his other sources, they appear to be well-researched and accurate.

Two other sources deserve particular mention. The first, historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, discusses the development of what is popularly accepted as Scottish history, distinguishing between fact and fiction. In his article, “The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland”, Trevor-Roper (1983) sheds light on the “Tartan Revival,” detailing the adoption of the kilt and the tartan as material symbols of the invented Scottish culture. He offers little insight into the specifics of bagpiping history. His later book, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (2008), expands on his initial findings.

The second, Tara Crane (1999), presents one current perspective of Scottish-Americans in her dissertation, *Adoption, Construction, and Maintenance of Ethnic Identity: A Scottish-American Example*. Crane discusses the importance ascribed by many members of the Scottish-American community to the kilt, the tartan, and the GHB. Her research enhances and illuminates the raw data compiled from respondent interviews for the present study.

Other sources include Calder (2006), who follows the lives of Scottish immigrants from the early Eighteenth Century through the early Twentieth Century, providing minute detail on the accomplishments of several notable immigrants, although taking a somewhat unsympathetic view of some of the more successful immigrants, particularly Andrew Carnegie; Devine (1999, 2003, 2011); Erickson (1973), who examines the correspondence of Scottish and English “invisible immigrants” in Nineteenth Century United States, confirming the scarcity of first person accounts of “non-elite” immigrant life during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, while providing some insight into immigrants’ cultural self-perception; Hunter (1994), who provides numerous anecdotes concerning the hardships of Scottish immigrant life; Kay (2006); MacAskill and McLeish (2006); and Sim (2011), who discusses Scottish immigrant self-perception. With the notable exception of Berthoff, these sources mention the GHB only in passing, if at all.

Genealogical sources include Campbell (2004), and Hamilton-Edwards (1972), who provide information pertinent to GHB culture in Eighteenth Century Scotland. These writers supplied general historical insight into genealogical research as a tool to examine Scottish history.

Music Pedagogy and Educational Research Sources

Several concepts in music education required in-depth study. These subjects included: educational research history and practice; educational philosophy; educational environment descriptions; learning styles; and teaching techniques. Although these topics rarely interfaced directly with GHB pedagogy, at least within these sources, they provided much of the framework for Part II, Chapters VI and VII.

Knox (1971) chronicles the history of educational research in the United States, while Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2006), lay a foundation for educational

research practices. Clayton, Herbert, and Middleton (2003) edit an anthology of works describing a cultural approach to music scholarship.

Abeles, Hoffer, and Klotman (1995) discuss various teaching styles and educational philosophies. Davies (2003) examines music philosophy. Bowman and Frega (2012), Phelan (2012), and Reimer (2003) focus specifically on music education philosophy. Because the topics of music philosophy and music education philosophy are rarely considered among bagpipers, these sources provided a valuable foundation for an initial presentation of philosophy as it applies to bagpiping and to GHB education.

Because learning style, teaching style and learning environment are so closely related, many sources combine discussions of these topics. Among these are Dybvig and Church (2012); Dzubak (2007), who also includes findings on memorization techniques; Fleming and Mills (1992); Szego (2002); and Waldron (2006). Waldron's dissertation, "Adult and Student Perceptions of Music Teaching and Learning at the Goderich Celtic College, Goderich, Ontario, Canada: An Ethnographic Study" (2006), was of particular value in illuminating student and teacher expectations in an environment closely related to GHB summer camps.

As mentioned earlier, because of its strong emphasis on the practical aspects of education, *The Voice* provided most of the practical evidence of specific teaching practice in the bagpiping community. This data was greatly enhanced by the results of an online survey, in addition to personal interviews and correspondence with GHB teachers from Scotland, Canada, and the United States. However, while pedagogical views and practice differ between teachers, there was very little evidence of debate on any specific teaching method.

Literature Review Reflections

Throughout my readings, I tried to remain alert for signs of contention or disagreement between sources. Certainly bagpipers have no reticence about disputing the results of a competition, claiming supremacy for one particular musical style over another, or asserting the superiority of this or that chanter and reed combination. However, in most of the areas I examined, I found little material disagreement, at least among bagpipers concerning music education methods.

Regarding history, although there are gaps in the documentable timeline, with a few exceptions, the findings of most historians agree, and many of the disagreements were in matters of relatively minor detail. Where there were gaps in the history and development of the GHB, at least there was usually an underlying, documented general history available to use as a foundation for my speculation. Campbell (2000), Campsie (1980), and Merryweather (2002), as mentioned earlier, present views contradicting various traditional accounts of GHB history, but these opposing views, while possibly correct, have little to do with this present research, other than as an observation of what some teachers teach regarding GHB history. None of these sources discuss the history and development of bagpiping in the United States.

In terms of cultural identity, although many writers speak in general terms about Scottish-American self-awareness and heritage, these authors, on the rare occasions when they did mention bagpipers or the GHB, seemed to lump them in with all the other aspects of what Zumkhawala-Cook (2005) refers to as “kitsch” (p.113). Describing Scottish music as: “...[A] hell of a lot more...” than just GHBs, Purser (1993) states: “...[T]hey see me coming up in a kilt and they think it’s going to be haggis and heather and GHBs and tartan and so on, and what they hear instead

is a Columban plainchant...” (p.6). Most writers appeared to include the GHB merely as one item on a list of traditional Scottish cultural components without any apparent concern for the instrument or specific reference to the musical tradition that would indicate they thought there could possibly be a distinction between the GHB and anything else Nairn (1977) classifies under the pejorative “tartanism” (p.162). To an uninformed general public, all Scottish traditions and cultural peculiarities, such as shortbread, tartan, GHBs, Burns night, haggis, and Scotch, might be viewed as a homogenous package of identity-defining associated elements, but such stereotyping has no place in academic work. Perhaps the general public’s ignorance may be excused. I assert, however, that this widespread misconception is often perpetuated by an inexcusable ignorance, disinterest, or laziness on the part of academics, especially academics who study Scotland and Scottish culture. Such lack of attention to scholarly detail damages the credibility of writers who employ such a careless approach to research. That my findings differed, in many cases remarkably so, from their apparently shallow, broad-brush notions, merely confirmed what I had seen in most academic work, that the GHB has been virtually disregarded by most scholars.

Concerning pedagogy, while I found divergent views on teaching methods, and numerous teachers who were quick to defend their teaching practices as right for them, I found very little real debate or disagreement as to which teaching style or method was “the best.” Instead, most sources appeared to be genuinely interested, to the point of excitement when discussing methods other than the ones they employed. That my respondents largely echoed this attitude proved one of the more pleasant findings of my research.

**PART I: INCEPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF BAGPIPING IN THE
EASTERN UNITED STATES**

CHAPTER II: INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE GHB IN AMERICA

The GHB as a musical instrument has received very little attention from academics, and such attention as it has received has often been based on anecdote at best, and mythology and conjecture at worst (Cheape, 2000, p.24). Some historians and musicologists seem to take perverse pleasure in denigrating the GHB (Fiske, 1983).¹¹ Historian Francis Collinson states, “There can have been fewer subjects about which greater nonsense has been written than that of the Scottish bagpipe”

¹¹ Musicologist Roger Fiske mentions the GHB seven times in his book “Scotland in Music,” ridiculing the instrument in pejorative and disparaging terms in every reference.

(Collinson, 1975, p.xiv). Notable exceptions include Flood (1911), Baines (1960), Collinson (1975), Cheape (2000, 2008, 2009), Dickson (2006, 2009), and MacNeill (2008). Even less has been written about the historical migrations of the GHB from Scotland to the United States, and what has been written has only been included as minor, peripheral illustrations of the broader context of Scottish immigration. In fact, other than as an aside, the GHB is rarely, if ever, mentioned in any books or articles about Scottish history or culture. Although there are published studies chronicling the development of bagpiping in Canada (Dixon, 2002a, 2002b), and a few short articles have appeared mentioning various aspects of American bagpiping history, the most notable being, “Under the Kilt: Variations on the Scottish-American Ground,” by Rowland Bertoff (1982), no thorough studies have been published dedicated to examining the appearance and development of the GHB in the United States. Placing the introduction and development of the GHB to the Eastern United States in historical context provides a vital component to understanding the current GHB presence in the Eastern United States. This chapter, therefore, examines the development of the GHB from its inception in the United States to the present day. Presenting this historical narrative will reveal that the GHB has been a small part of three eras of Scottish cultural growth in the United States, and that for varying reasons, the first two eras declined almost to the point of extinction. Additionally, the concept of “marginal survival” will be observed to test for applicability to the Scottish immigrant experience.

Early Evidence of GHBs in the Americas

Music historian Donald Grout asserts the GHB was the universal instrument of the people throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, claimed by nearly every culture in Europe and beyond (1980, p.74). As though to confirm his assertion,

the earliest documented evidence of a GHB being played in the Americas was not by the Scots or the Irish, but rather by Spanish Conquistadors (Borroff, 1990, p.257). To support this evidence, the Arents Collection of the New York Public Library boasts a Sixteenth Century woodcut of Native American Indians dancing to the tune of a Galician bagpiper, no doubt a crew member of the Spanish galleon anchored by the shore (Borroff, 1990, p.257). Although the Spaniards conquered the native populations, attempting to eradicate the native culture and supplant the local language and religion with their own, no evidence suggests the Spaniards transmitted the GHB along with their language and religion to these indigenous people. Neither is there any evidence that the Spaniards cultivated the GHB within their own musical culture in the New World.

If the first GHB reached the Americas under the arm of an invader, the first bagpipers from the British Isles arrived in the New World under the arm of the law, as a consequence of civil and ecclesiastical punishment of the Scottish and Irish bagpipers (Flood, 1911, p.64-65; Manson, 1907, p.162; Collinson, 1975, p.102). Bagpipers, as well as minstrels and other musicians, were particularly targeted by the Cromwellian regime, because instrumental music was considered sacrilegious by the Puritans, and because bagpipers were feared as potential insurrectionists (Flood, 1911, p.119). Although there is historical precedent to suspect bagpipers of being rebellious, or at least, of being called upon or employed to participate in rebellions, Collinson emphasizes that these infractions should not necessarily be construed that bagpipers were any less law abiding, less religious, or more seditious than their fellow citizens (Collinson, 1975, pp.102-106). Rather, the nature of Scottish and Irish civil life was such that laws were often harsh and arbitrary, with everyone subject to censure for the slightest offence or transgression, real or imagined. Fines,

public censure, and imprisonment were common to all walks of life, not merely to bagpipers. One punishment, however, was considered worst of all: transportation. Transportation meant forced labour on the plantations of the southern colonies, or indentured servitude in the wealthy houses of the north. Flood claims that because of their perceived power to incite insurrection, Irish pipers received particularly harsh treatment under Cromwell, with numerous pipers transported to the American and West Indian colonies in the mid-Seventeenth Century (1911, p.117). In many cases, transportation verdicts were made simply because the person in question was a Royalist (Calder, 2006, p.5). Although large numbers of pipers were transported to the American colonies at this time, no evidence exists indicating that as convicts they were allowed to bring such luxuries as musical instruments to their exile, unlike their seafaring Spanish counterparts, who arrived in the New World on a more or less voluntary basis.

1700-1790: THE FIRST ERA

Early Scottish Immigration to America

Although the initial Scottish presence in North America came from transportation, the lure of opportunity soon brought immigrants in increasing numbers to the American colonies. Until the Treaty of Union in 1707, English law severely restricted or prohibited trade and emigration from Scotland to the American colonies (Fry, 2003, p.17).¹² Following the Treaty of Union, widespread immigration by Scots to North America began in the early Eighteenth Century, and initially centered in three areas: Nova Scotia; the Carolina colonies; and the

¹² Although the Union of Crowns (1603) combined the thrones of England and Scotland, the two countries' parliaments were not joined until 1707. Scots were from time to time allowed to immigrate to the American colonies in the intervening years, but trade was severely restricted by the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, which gave English ships exclusive right to entry into colonial ports (Fry, 2003, p.18).

northeastern American colonies, from New Jersey to Massachusetts (Devine, 2003, p.38). These early immigrants, purposeful in their travel, certainly retained elements of their culture, to the extent possible for immigrants travelling by dangerous means to a primitive country (MacLean, 1900; Gibson, 2002a, 2002b). How did these early settlers view their native culture, and to what extent did they seek to protect, preserve, and perpetuate that culture? Before examining the Scottish-American experience, it is important to understand the concept of “marginal survival” in diaspora cultures.

The phenomenon of purposeful cultural preservation in an effort to retain identity among diaspora populations, referred to as “marginal survival,” has been examined by anthropologists (Butler, 2001; Edwards, 2007; Safran, 1991) and ethnomusicologists (Myers, 1998; Nettl, 1957). Agozzino (2006) found that marginal survival in diaspora cultures resulted from a conscious effort to retain the home culture in a foreign, isolated environment. More than merely retaining cultural elements as a comfort against a foreign experience, these immigrants sought to use their native culture to remain isolated from the indigenous population, often in an attempt to preserve their entire way of life. In doing so, these immigrants refrained from assimilation and adaptation into the new culture. Studying immigrant populations in late Twentieth Century Denmark, Fock found that because of their music, immigrant populations were often perceived negatively by the native Danes (1997, p.64). The exotic nature of the immigrant’s music identified them as outsiders. Furthermore, immigrants used their music as a form of insulation against the Danish culture and to actively identify themselves as different, thus retaining their native customs and culture to the exclusion of the host culture. An additional, perhaps unintended, consequence was that, rather than perpetuating their culture, the

children of these immigrants often purposely distanced themselves from their parent's music in an effort to assimilate with their Danish friends (Fock, 1997, p.60). These descriptions exemplify purposeful cultural preservation among immigrant populations, providing a baseline for examining, comparing, and understanding the experiences and motives of Scottish immigrants to America. To reiterate, "marginal survival" requires more than mere purposeful cultural preservation. There must be a desire on the part of the diaspora population, not only to preserve their native culture, but also to isolate themselves by using their native culture, and often, their language and music, as a barrier against assimilation (Agozzino, 2006, p.42; Safran, 1991, p. 83-99). The Scottish immigration experience will be tested against this definition.

Of the several immigrations to North America, the first Scottish colony, centered in Nova Scotia, Canada, was founded in 1629 but failed a few years later.¹³ Although Scots began to repopulate Nova Scotia as a British colony by the early Eighteenth Century, mass immigration to Canada did not occur until the period from 1775-1850, when 25,000 Scots immigrated to the Maritime Provinces, choosing Canada in favour of the United States following the American Revolution (MacNeill, 2012, unpaginated). The development of Scottish cultural presence in Nova Scotia has been examined in detail by historian John G. Gibson (2002b), who argues that the bagpiping tradition accompanying these immigrants remained preserved well into the middle of the Twentieth Century (p.195). He suggests the bagpiping tradition, merely a part of a larger Gaelic culture, was carefully preserved in Nova Scotia and the Outer Hebrides, and asks how this same bagpiping culture could have disappeared in mainland Scotland (Gibson, 2002a, p.5). He answers his own question later, referring to the geographic isolation of these locations (Gibson, 2002a,

¹³ Retrieved July 17, 2011: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/charles/natcul/natcul3.aspx>

p.12). The immigrants to Nova Scotia retained and preserved their culture, but not in an effort to preserve their culture or isolate their community against an established indigenous one. Unlike the diaspora cultures studied by Nettl and others, the British immigrants did not enter into a strong, prevalent culture already in existence in the New World. Even though the Mi'kmaw civilization predated European colonization by hundreds of years, their population had been decimated by plague in 1617, prior to the arrival of a permanent Scottish settlement, leaving fewer than 4000 Mi'kmaw alive by 1619.¹⁴ Furthermore, despite French colonization in what became Canada prior to the establishment of a successful Scottish settlement, and despite the ongoing territorial dispute between the French and British until the end of what was known in North America as the French and Indian War in 1763, the French were never strong enough to assert cultural supremacy over the British colonists. (Calder, 2004, p.24). Therefore, while the Scottish colonists would have worked to retain their way of life, the concept of “marginal survival” does not apply to the Nova Scotia colonies.

Like the immigrants to Nova Scotia, Scottish immigrants to the American colonies, during every period of immigration to the United States, retained many of their cultural elements, but unlike the Nova Scotia colonies, the American colonies were not geographically isolated. Again, unlike the diaspora cultures studied by Nettl and others, rather than intentionally remaining isolated from an indigenous culture in an attempt to preserve their heritage, the Scottish immigrants to America quickly assimilated as early ingredients in the American “melting pot,” becoming part of the dominant English-speaking culture (Ray, 2001, p.43; MacDonald, 2007, p.257; Sim, 2011, p.35). Embracing their new country while freely retaining many of the cultural elements of their homeland, these immigrants generally felt no need to

¹⁴ Retrieved March 13, 2014: <http://www.muiniskw.org/pgHistory2.htm>

strive for cultural survival because as a group they did not view their culture as endangered in the New World (MacLean, 1900, p.236). The Scottish immigrants to America did not typically view their culture in terms of either preservation or isolation. Therefore, the concept of marginal survival does not apply to the Scottish immigrant experience.

After Nova Scotia, chronologically, the second point of initial Scottish immigration to the Americas was to the Northern colonies, from New Jersey to Massachusetts. Initially, Scots came as indentured servants transported by Cromwell in 1650.¹⁵ Beginning in 1683, Scots began to immigrate voluntarily to the growing urban centers of the North, primarily New York and Boston, although the first Scottish settlement was in New Jersey (Calder, 2006, p.30). The Scots Charitable Society of Boston, founded in 1657, and incorporated in 1786, established to assist destitute Scots who were ending their indentured servitude, claims to be the oldest charitable organization in the United States.¹⁶

The third main point of entry, the Carolina colonies, primarily North Carolina, was the most successful, and by far the largest in terms of population. In fact, more Scots immigrated to North Carolina than to any other colony (Ray, 2001, p.3). Even though Scots were present in North Carolina prior to 1729, beginning in 1729, Scots immigrated in large numbers as rural workers, creating, then operating the tobacco plantations (Calder, 2006, p.38). Dating from 1729, the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston, South Carolina, claims to be the oldest St. Andrew's Society in the world (Buist, et al., 1892). The distinction between the Charleston and Boston societies is apparently one of semantics; the Boston society was not named after St. Andrew, and there is some question whether the Scots Charitable Society of Boston

¹⁵ Retrieved January 14, 2014: <http://scots-charitable.org/about>

¹⁶ Retrieved, December 13, 2013: <http://scots-charitable.org/about>

maintained a continuous presence through the Revolutionary War (Adam, 1878, p.47). As will be examined later, even though the Scottish population in the Southern colonies was for a time the largest outside Scotland, that presence later declined in fact, if not in memory. Despite considerable Scottish presence, only one piece of known evidence places the GHB in any of the colonies prior to the French and Indian War. This reference is found in *The Natural History of North Carolina*, (Brickell, 1737, p.40). John Brickell travelled to North Carolina in 1724, returning to Ireland in 1731, not publishing his book until 1743, so his reference would have to place GHBs in North Carolina prior to 1731.¹⁷ In that this is perhaps the first written documentation of GHBs in America, Brickell's brief comments are worth presenting in their entirety:

Dancing they are all fond of, especially when they can get a Fiddle, or Bag-pipe; at this they will continue Hours together, nay, so attach'd are they to this darling Amusement, that if they can't procure Musick, they will sing for themselves. Musick, and Musical Instruments being very scarce in *Carolina* (1737, p.40).

This documentation confirms at least a token presence of the GHB, played by permanent settlers to North Carolina, prior to the French and Indian War.

The French and Indian War

As the British colonies in North America expanded westward, tension between the British and the French colonists, as well as between the Native American tribes, who felt encroached upon by the colonists, caused inevitable friction. Mirroring the European conflict known there as the Seven Years' War, the North American French and Indian War, began on May 28, 1754, when a young colonial officer named George Washington killed a French officer, Joseph Coulon de

¹⁷ Retrieved, February 4, 2014: <http://www.carolana.com/Carolina/Explorers/johnbrickell.html>

Villiers de Jumonville, during a skirmish in the region now known as Pennsylvania.¹⁸ In addition to American colonial units mustered for the struggle, three Highland Regiments served in the French and Indian War (1754-1763). These were the 42nd (Black Watch), the 77th (Montgomerie's Highlanders), and the 78th (Fraser Highlanders). While the Black Watch's origins date to 1725 following the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715,¹⁹ Montgomerie's Highlanders and the Fraser Highlanders were raised in 1757 (Newark, 2009, p.70). The raising of these regiments was important to the survival of Scottish culture, because Highland soldiers serving the British Crown were exempt from the ban on wearing kilts, carrying weapons, and the implied restriction on playing the GHB, which had been imposed on residents of the Scottish Highlands by the 1747 Act of Proscription, enacted after the failed Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.²⁰

Although GHBs were played at many of the major battles of this war, documentation provides few details. Pipers are typically only mentioned in passing, if at all. It was not until the onset of Nineteenth Century Romanticism that the bagpiper began to be noticed and perceived as a colourful, heroic character.

One of the few exceptions to this lack of detail involves a skirmish known as the Battle of Grant's Hill, which took place on September 14, 1758, and occurred as part of General John Forbes' attack on the French garrison at Fort Duquesne, where the city of Pittsburgh now stands (Boucher and Jordan, 1908, p.32). During a reconnaissance of Fort Duquesne, Major James Grant and 400 Scottish troops

¹⁸ Retrieved, February 22, 2014: <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/lieutenant-colonel-george-washington-begins-the-seven-years-war>

¹⁹ Retrieved August 12, 2012: <http://www.theblackwatch.co.uk/index/raising-of-the-regiment>

²⁰ The GHB is not mentioned in the Act of Proscription, and therefore never expressly outlawed. Many writers erroneously assert otherwise (MacDonald, 1997, p.5; Percival, 2010, p.196; Ray, 2001, p.19). Although there was no formal law banning the GHB, piper James Reid was hanged in York on 15 November, 1746, for playing the GHB as part of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's army. Reid's execution is perhaps the event that has given rise to the myth that the GHB was banned as a weapon.

approached to within a few hundred yards of the fort (Dahlinger, 1908, pp.11-13). Observing no movement in the fort but uncertain it was deserted, with dusk approaching, Grant decided to attack the next day (Chapman, 1887, p.95). The following morning, the Scottish troops, informed of the impending assault, performed the sword dance in traditional fashion to determine an omen for the attack. The accompaniment of the GHBs aroused the 4000 sleeping French and Indians inside the fort, who swarmed out of the gate, attacking Grant's troops, killing or capturing most of them (Sipe, 1932, p.49).

Apart from this anecdote, history neglects or even ignores the GHB during this time, although almost one hundred years later, American author James Fennimore Cooper, writing about the French and Indian War, implies GHBs would be played at a soldier's funeral (Cooper, 1853, p.190). The 77th and the 78th Highland regiments were both disbanded in Canada in 1763, and most of the men settled in Nova Scotia or New England on land grants awarded to them as payment for their military service (Barnes, 1956, p.73). Although GHBs would almost certainly have been present in the American colonies after the French and Indian War, there appears to have been no thought of cultural perpetuation of the GHB, of which one possible piece of evidence might have been the initiation of a teaching tradition. However, there appears to be no record of anyone giving or receiving GHB instruction in the colonies at this time.

The American Revolution

Following the French and Indian War, Scots continued to immigrate to the American colonies, in ever increasing numbers. However, in the war's aftermath, the British government needed funding to pay war debts and to further protect its colonial interests. Taxes enacted by Britain and exacted upon the American colonies

to pay for the expenses of the French and Indian War, as well as for the colonies' continued protection, were a major factor in the disenfranchisement felt by American colonists. However, unlike the inhabitants of other British colonies of the time, many of the American colonists were highly educated as well as fiercely independent, a volatile combination leading inevitably to revolution.

Scots fought on both sides of the American Revolution, but there appears to be no evidence that the GHB was played by members of the colonial forces during the war. The presence of Scottish regiments in the war, however, as well as American loyalist regiments which were populated by Scots, almost guarantees there were pipers involved in the conflict, despite the fact that most pipers would have either been absent from the official roll or listed as drummers (Barnes, 1956, p.67). Scots fighting for the Crown was the rule rather than the exception, which, considering many of them had fought against the ruling Hanoverian dynasty merely thirty years prior to the American Revolution begs an intriguing question of long-term loyalty. Many of the Scottish immigrants to the American colonies, especially the southern colonies, were loyalists, perhaps the most famous of whom was Flora MacDonald, the very woman who had spirited Prince Charles Edward Stuart to safety and exile in the aftermath of the Battle of Culloden, the final clash of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 (Prebble, 1962). The most notable piper to immigrate to the American colonies prior to the Revolutionary War was Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon, formerly piper to MacLeod of Dunvegan and head of the MacCrimmon piping school at Borreraig. MacCrimmon immigrated to North Carolina in about 1770, fighting for the Crown, attaining the rank of lieutenant in Kingsburgh's Loyalists, an American loyalist regiment (MacNeill, 2008, p.39). There appears to be no evidence that MacCrimmon brought a GHB with him to

America, nor any record of him teaching anyone while he resided in America, which is not surprising considering he arrived in the American colonies just prior to the beginning of the war.

At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, as many as 80,000 of these loyal Scots either returned to Scotland or journeyed to Canada (Daniels, 1991, p.84; Barnes, 1956, p.82). As examples, Flora MacDonald returned to Scotland, and Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon immigrated briefly to Canada before returning to Scotland with his family, including his oldest son, Patrick, sometime after the war. MacCrimmon's younger son Donald apparently remained in the United States (Campbell, 2000, p.76). The mass departure of Scottish immigrants following the Revolutionary War is important to the development of Scottish culture in the United States because in leaving the United States to immigrate to Canada or return to Scotland, much of the nucleus for a vibrant Scottish cultural foundation in the United States was lost, and the Scots who remained deemphasized their cultural heritage for a time, especially in the South, in an effort to further assimilate and to deflect what was, for a brief period, anti-loyalist sentiment (Ray, 2001, pp.48-49). Although a general Scottish cultural presence remained throughout the South, this is one reason for the absence of a continuous Scottish bagpiping tradition in the Carolinas, and indeed throughout the Southern United States. Of the Scottish immigrants who remained in the Southern United States, few passed on their culture to the next generation, perhaps because for a short time following the American Revolution, being Scottish was considered synonymous with being a loyalist (Ray, 2001, p.49). Crane (1999) notes: "...[W]ith their death died some or most of the culture they held within them" (p.1). The remaining Scottish immigrants throughout the United States strove to assimilate as Americans, although they continued to maintain a tenuous

cultural continuity as voluntary participants in such cultural expressions as Caledonian clubs, St. Andrew's societies, and later, Highland gatherings (Calder, 2006, pp.206-207). Anti-loyalist sentiment lingered in the South, but the Revolutionary War, although hard fought, had been somewhat less brutal in the North. The general perception of the Scot in the North was at once that of the hard-working Lowlander, combined with the blossoming, if largely mythical romanticism of the Highlands (Hook, 1975). It should not be forgotten that many Scots fought for American Independence, including John Paul Jones, father of the American Navy, who had gone so far as to make a raid on Scotland during the war.²¹ Washington's army boasted forty four generals who were either Scottish or of Scottish descent (MacLean, 1900, p.41). Furthermore, thirteen of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence were either Scottish or of Scottish descent, although only two of these were from a Southern colony (Manning, 2007, p.1). Against this ambivalent perception, Scottish immigrants and Americans of Scottish descent joined with their fellow former colonists in welcoming the new country.

Post-Revolutionary War Eighteenth Century

Despite the mass migration of Scots away from the United States to Canada and Britain at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, many Scots remained, and even more continued to arrive, largely forced to leave Scotland as a result of the first Highland Clearances (Sim, 2011, p.24). Despite a chilling effect on immigration in the aftermath of the American Revolution, which redirected many Scots to the Canadian provinces, by 1790 there were an estimated 250,000 Scots in the United States (Cheape, Winter 2003, p.22). This is important to the development of a

²¹ During the raid on April 23, 1778, which bruised British pride but did little real damage, Jones' men stole, among other things, Lady Selkirk's silver candlesticks.

Scottish presence in the United States because the influx of new immigrants replaced those Scottish loyalists who left after the Revolutionary War.

As an example of the continued presence of Scottish culture in the new United States, there is a record of GHBs being played at the first presidential inauguration, held in 1789, although the details, as usual, are sketchy and incomplete. Describing George Washington's inaugural parade, the historian Rufus Griswold describes "...[T]he Scotch Infantry, in full Highland costume, with bagpipes" (1856, p.139). This account, written nearly seventy years after the event, places GHBs at the parade, but, typical of other contemporary accounts, offers no facts about the pipers themselves, their music, or the group with which they played. Such examples of lack of detail about bagpipers are tantalizing, frustrating, and endemic, offering only a brief glimpse of history. It is important to remember that almost all chroniclers of the time cared nothing for what they perceived to be unimportant details, such as the names of the bagpipers and the music they played. The absence of hard, detailed evidence sometimes forces the researcher to draw his own conclusions, based on assumptions and inferences. Even with the publication of the *Scottish American Journal*, incorporated in 1857 and dedicated to reporting news of Scottish events, details about bagpipers are often unspecific and incomplete.²² Lack of attention to bagpiping clearly illustrates the negligible impact of the GHB within the larger Scottish culture and emphasizes even more the triviality of the instrument in the minds of most outside observers. Griswold places bagpipers in the United States at this time, but there is no record of who they were, how many there were, where they lived, or when and where they performed. In fact, no other references to their presence appear to exist.

²² Retrieved January 19, 2014: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn94092123>

1800-1860: ASSIMILATION AND DECLINE

Although Scots continued to immigrate to the United States through the 1790s, by the beginning of the Nineteenth Century their numbers dropped off dramatically. From 1820 to 1830 only 3100 Scots immigrated to the United States (Berthoff, 1953, p.5). Additionally, as the United States expanded west, many Scots and Americans of Scottish descent joined the vanguard of pioneers opening up new territory, leaving little time for recreational or cultural pursuits. This is not to imply that culture was nonexistent on the frontier. To illustrate, native Scottish bagpiper John McGregor immigrated to Texas at some point in the early 1830s, while Texas was still a part of Mexico. In February 1836 he found himself in San Antonio, along with Tennessean David Crockett and about 185 Texian patriots, mostly farmers, surrounded by the might of the Mexican army, 5000 well-trained soldiers commanded by Generalissimo Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna.²³ In an effort to bolster the defenders' morale during the thirteen-day siege, Crockett with his fiddle and McGregor with his GHB, would hold "noisemaking sessions" as the Texians laughed and danced. In her account, recorded years after the battle, Susanna Dickinson, one of the few Anglo survivors of the Alamo, confirmed that the Alamo would have fallen on the first day of the battle, if not for Crockett and McGregor continuously bolstering the defenders' morale (Peterson, 2004, p.62). This isolated example proves an exception rather than a rule, and even for those who remained in the settled areas, leisure time was a luxury few could afford. Furthermore, those Scots who had remained in the United States after the Revolution were part of an aging, mostly assimilated population. Subsequently, second and third-generation Americans of Scottish descent, often having little or no direct connection to Scotland,

²³ Prior to Texas Independence, settlers in Texas were referred to as Texians, or Texicans.

reacted to their circumstance the way many diaspora cultures do, by assimilating deeper into the indigenous population; by then, they *were* the indigenous population (Clifford, 1994, p.312). Subsequently, as new immigrants from other nations increased their presence, the relative Scottish cultural presence in the United States diminished. The Scots became “invisible immigrants” (Erickson, 1972). In part in an effort to stem the waning cultural memory of the Scots, Highland games were instituted in the United States, the stated aim being “[T]o renew the sports of our Native Land” (Webster, 1973, pp.12-13). Nairn (1977) argues that the original “Tartan Revival” in Scotland was largely a commercial venture perpetrated by Scott and others (p.162). Although national heritage and pride would likely have been one draw for attendance both in Scotland and in the United States, unlike Twenty-first Century American Highland games, which typically have numerous Scottish musicians selling CDs, vendors offering everything from kilts to canned haggis, and food booths (which do not customarily feature haggis on the menu) there does not appear to be reference to any obvious commercial intent behind the initial Nineteenth Century American Highland gatherings.

Introduction of Highland Games and Gatherings to the United States

Highland games are one of the defining environments of Scottish culture, and a focal point of bagpiping, but in the United States this has not always been the case. Nevertheless, the popularity and frequency of Highland games and Highland gatherings has been one gauge of the relative health of the Scottish culture in America since their introduction to the United States as competitive events in 1836. Scottish Highland games obviously were not invented in the United States, but what is the history of these events, and why are they important to Scottish culture?

Highland games in Scotland trace their history back centuries, beginning with the Ceres Games in Fife, which claims to be the oldest continuous Scottish games, dating from 1314 (Webster, 1973, p.10). From then until the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, many communities in the Highlands of Scotland held some type of annual gathering. Following the Jacobite Rebellion, Highland gatherings were discontinued, forbidden by the Act of Proscription. The Highland Society of London sought to revive Highland gatherings, instituting a bagpiping competition at the Falkirk Tryst in 1781, in an effort specifically intended to preserve and revitalize bagpiping.²⁴ Following the repeal of the Act of Proscription in 1782, Highland gatherings once again became legal, although the first publicly recorded modern Highland games featuring athletics, Highland dancing, and piping competitions did not take place until 1819, and was sponsored by the St. Fillan's Highland Society in Perthshire (Webster, 1973, p.11). Prior to that event, Highland gatherings would have been simple, informal, community fairs. Although the Highland Society of London competitions and the St. Fillan's Highland Games predate Sir Walter Scott's "tartan revival," some researchers suggest that the rapid proliferation of Highland games throughout Scotland in the first half of the Nineteenth Century resulted from increased interest in the largely invented Scottish culture brought about by Scott and others (Webster, 1973, 2011; Trevor-Roper, 1983; Ray, 2001).

The reintroduction of Highland gatherings to Scotland was important at this time, for two reasons. First, it allowed the remaining Highlanders, and later all Scots, to publicly remember their heritage through open display of their culture: athletics, Highland dancing, bagpiping, harp, and fiddle. Second, and more importantly, by

²⁴ The Falkirk Tryst was a cattle market, held annually during the months of August-October. Falkirk is in the Lowlands of Scotland, and as a cattle market, was technically exempt on two counts from the restrictions of the Act, which did not apply to shepherds, and was not enforced in the Lowlands.

turning these into competitive events, the games secured the survival of these arts. Life in the Highlands of Scotland remained harsh, and the loss of population caused by the Highland Clearances made cultural survival even more challenging. If not for the reintroduction of Highland games, Highland culture in general and the GHB culture along with it might have died completely. Rather than becoming extinct, however, Highland culture, along with the Highland games in which it was supported, not only survived but prospered in Scotland, as did the GHB.

Throughout the Nineteenth Century into the Twentieth Century, the number of Highland games grew in Scotland, with a choice of several events on every weekend throughout the summer, and all seemed to thrive (Donaldson, 1986, p.14). Even today, Highland games are held simultaneously at multiple venues throughout Scotland, not only every weekend of the summer, but often on weekdays, too. Webster asserts that many Highland games in Scotland during the Nineteenth Century drew massive crowds, attracting up to 30,000 spectators (1973, p.25). He does not support this assertion with documentation, and considering the population of the Highlands in the 1800s, combined with the geographical size of most Scottish Highland games fields, and hampered by the difficulties of Nineteenth Century travel in Scotland, such numbers seem amazingly high.

Notwithstanding any questions of actual attendance figures, Highland games in Scotland continued to grow and flourish throughout the Nineteenth Century bolstered by the patronage of Queen Victoria (Webster, 1973, p.22). Athletic events, Highland dancing, and solo bagpiping competition continued to develop and gain in popularity. The first recorded competitive pipe band event, though, was not held until 1906 at the Cowal Highland Gathering in Dunoon. Entries for the first three years were restricted exclusively to army pipe bands, but in 1909 the field was

broadened to include civilian pipe bands. This modification was made at the behest of Scotland's famous entertainer Sir Harry Lauder, who had formerly worked as a coal miner and was aware of several miners' pipe bands (Donaldson, p.109). Following the Scottish model and motive, Highland gatherings and games were gradually introduced to the United States.

Although it is possible that Scots occasionally gathered recreationally and in mass in North America after their initial arrival in the early part of the Eighteenth Century, the privations of colonial and frontier life left little time for recreation; few instances of such events are recorded, either because there were few Scottish events, or because there was no journalistic intent to document them. As an isolated example, a "Scotch Fair" was held twice annually in Laurel Hill, North Carolina, from 1783 through 1873 (MacDonald, 2007, p.173). Also, although Scots continued to immigrate and settle in the United States, after a mass immigration shortly following the American Revolution, the years from 1820-1850 saw a total immigration of fewer than 10,000 Scots (Berthoff, 1953, p.5). Americans of Scottish descent rarely participated in Scottish cultural activities, if for no other reason than there were apparently few activities in which to participate (Webster, 1973, p.25). To recap, the four obstacles to support of Highland games: diminishing immigration numbers; harsh daily pioneer life; second generation assimilation; and lack of opportunity for cultural expression; combined to endanger Scottish cultural survival altogether. Observing this, members of at least four Scottish societies located in American urban centers sought to reverse this trend, and in a deliberate effort to revive Scottish culture in the United States, Highland games were introduced into the Scottish American community. The *Emigrant and Old Countryman* newspaper records the date of the first Highland games as a published event in the United States

as 1836, when the Highland Society of New York held its first ‘Sportive Meeting’ in the Elysian Fields in Hoboken, NJ, the stated aim being: “...[T]o renew the Sports of our Native land” (Bartlett, 1836, unpaginated). This statement appears to indicate nationalistic intent and a desire for cultural preservation or even renaissance on the part of the organizers, rather than merely offering an opportunity for an enjoyable picnic. The event included Highland dancing, bagpiping, sporting events, and a parade (Donaldson, 1986, p.26). From that point, the appearance of Highland games increased, albeit very slowly. Webster (1973) states that at least four Caledonian clubs held Highland games in the years prior to the American Civil War (p.25). He does not list the location or the dates of the events, but the four largest Caledonian clubs of the time were Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Newark, New Jersey.²⁵ Perhaps more gatherings took place, but no records exist. Regardless of any intent for cultural preservation, these would likely have been relatively informal events, in contrast to the highly organized, competition driven events of today.

Despite attempts to the contrary, by 1850 Scottish influence in American population and culture continued to decline. Following the mass immigration of the late Eighteenth Century, the Scottish-born population had shrunk from an estimated 250,000 in 1790 (Cheape, Winter 2003, p.22), to a dwindling and aging population in 1860 of fewer than 110,000, even including an influx of 38,000 immigrants in the years 1850-1860 (Berthoff, 1953, pp.5-7). These figures present a striking difference to the total number of second and third-generation Americans of Scottish descent, who, by 1860, numbered almost 2,500,000, an estimated eight percent of the total population. As immigration declined, and as the remaining descendants continued to further assimilate into the general population, so declined the culture, and the GHB

²⁵ Retrieved December 27, 2012: <http://ruralhillscottishfestivals.net/History.asp>

along with it. This was particularly true in the south, as contempt for the institution of slavery dissuaded many Scots from immigrating to those states (MacRae, 1870, p.8). Worse than the deleterious effect of the aging and assimilating population and the diminishing number of immigrants, the entire American population, the Scottish culture, and the GHB were about to receive another shattering blow.

The American Civil War

The American Civil War was the most costly war in American history in terms of casualties. Total war deaths are estimated at 623,000, or eight percent of the total population. Because of its enduring effect on the country, and because it is a colourful time in the history of the United States, the Civil War is a popular era for American re-enactors, people whose hobby is to portray historical events and time periods as living history. Some of them, realizing the strong Scottish heritage of the South, portray pipers as their personas. However, no evidence exists to confirm that GHBs were played by either side in battle during the war.²⁶ This is odd, since both Scottish immigrants and Americans of Scottish descent fought in disproportionately large numbers on both sides of the conflict. Surprisingly, almost no documentation concerning the GHB in the United States exists during this time period, which is peculiar considering that the GHB was at least mentioned sporadically before and after the war. As an example, the “Making of America” project of the Cornell University Library maintains a significant digital collection of 267 primary source documents and more than 100,000 journal articles dedicated to the American Civil War and post-war reconstruction.²⁷ By no means a complete collection of all available material, nevertheless, the “Making of America” project offers a wealth of

²⁶ Retrieved September 21, 2013: <http://www.authentic-campaigner.com/forum/archive/index.php/t-189.html>

²⁷ Retrieved October 12, 2013: <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moa>

documentation for historians. A Boolean search of the words “bagpipe,” “bagpipes,” “bagpiper,” and “bagpipers,” turned up no references.

One of the few references to bagpipers during the Civil War concerns the departure from Manhattan of the 79th New York Infantry regiment, which was led out of the city on June 2, 1861, by pipers of the New York Caledonian Society. As this was a civilian “club,” the pipers did not accompany the regiment to, “...[T]he war, out of NY County, or even probably a few hundred yards beyond Broadway.”²⁸ The survivors of the 79th New York received a hero’s welcome upon their arrival home on May 24, 1864, at a banquet held in their honour, with the officers and men of the regiment marching into the banquet hall: “...[T]o the music of the Highland pipes, the sound of which brings a thrill of patriotic ardor to the heart of every true Scot, who remembers the beloved Highlands of his ancestors in the bloody days when they battled for the independence of their native land.”²⁹ That the only two references to GHBs associated with the 79th New York occur on their departure to and return from the war suggest that bagpipers did not accompany the regiment during the conflict. There is, in any case, no evidence to support the notion that bagpipers accompanied the 79th New York into battle.

At least one other reference is made concerning bagpipers: an advertisement by the Scotch Regiment in the Chicago Daily Tribune, January 21, 1862. It states:

Pipers Wanted for the Scotch Regiment. Apply personally or by letter at 101 Washington Street, Room No. 8 Daniel Cameron, Colonel Commanding. Every facility will be extended, and liberal inducements offered to parties recruiting in the country. The Scotch Regiment will probably be the last accepted by the Government from Illinois.³⁰

²⁸ Retrieved October 23, 2013: <http://www.authentic-campaigner.com/forum/archive/index.php/t-189.html>

²⁹ Retrieved January 16, 2014: <http://dmna.ny.gov/historic/reghist/civil/infantry/79thInf/79thInfCWN.htm>

³⁰ Retrieved June 23, 2013: http://www.uttler.edu/vbetts/chicago_tribune.htm

There is no known record of pipers actually enlisting with this or any other regiment, and although there remain a few isolated fables, these must be assigned to the realms of folklore. As an example, one popular myth claims that bagpipers accompanied General George Custer in his famous Seventh Cavalry, a distinguished unit of the Union Army. After the Civil War, the Seventh Cavalry travelled west to fight the Indians, and they were ultimately massacred at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. According to Stephen Draper, curator of the Seventh Cavalry Museum, based at Fort Hood, Texas, “There are stories about a Piper in the Seventh Cavalry Regiment. But there is no documentation to justify the story” (Draper, personal correspondence, March 28, 2013).

The most significant effect of the American Civil War on the Scottish culture in the United States was that a large segment of Scots and Americans of Scottish descent, the youth of the upcoming generation, which had served on both sides in numbers far greater than their proportion to the total population, had been killed.³¹³² There is no way to assess the number of bagpipers who lost their lives in the conflict, but the loss of perhaps 50,000-75,000 members of the Scottish community in the United States was to have a chilling effect on the general Scottish culture for the next twenty-five years.

1865-1890: Decline and Transition

By 1865, the Scottish culture in the United States was severely weakened and in a diminishing state. Bagpiper and genealogist Hilton McLaurin describes his own

³¹ Retrieved April 17, 2011: <http://www.civilwarhome.com/ethnic.htm>

³² Accurate figures are impossible to determine, but the total war casualties of 623,000 were approximately 2 percent of the entire US population of 31,400,000. Scots and Americans of Scottish descent comprised approximately 8 percent of the US population, with Scotch-Irish adding an additional 4 percent. This would conservatively equate to 50,000-75,000 total losses from the Scottish community.

family heritage during the years following the war, “There was a strong Highland tradition in the McLaurin family leading up to the Civil War. Within three generations after the war, all that had disappeared” (McLaurin, personal correspondence, January 21, 2014). Not only the culture, but in many cases the memory of Scottish culture was lost.

Highland games in the United States experienced only slight growth following the American Civil War, growing from ten games in the late 1860s to approximately two dozen by 1895 (Berthoff, 1982, p.9). Even though the number of events increased in this thirty-year time period, such growth could be viewed as an actual decline in cultural presence relative to the overall growth of the potential participants. The population of native Scottish immigrants living in the United States multiplied from 70,000 in 1850 to more than 240,000 by 1890, so proportionally, the number of Highland games should have increased to thirty-five events by 1890.

Like the Highland games conducted before the Civil War, in terms of appearance, the Highland games of this era, which included athletic events as well as Highland dancing and piping competitions, would likely have been very informal gatherings with relatively few piping competitors, compared to the almost “assembly line” nature of today’s events. In fact, by 1865, bagpipers were apparently so scarce, they were considered “a rare sight to be seen” in the United States (Stewart, February 11, 1865, unpaginated). Even by 1886 there were few pipers in the United States, with fewer than twenty pipers in New York City (Stewart, July 18, 1886, unpaginated). Berthoff suggests that most of the pipers in the United States at this time would have been “ordinary immigrant workingmen who incidentally played the pipes” (Berthoff, 1982, p.9). There are several possible reasons why there were so few pipers in the United States at this time. First, the GHB was still in a transitional

stage between vocation and recreation in Scotland, and most pipers in Scotland would have been either employed by private estates or been members of a Scottish military regiment. In either case, they would not have been likely to immigrate to America, there being no equivalent positions available to them. Second, those pipers who did emigrate would have been members of the working class, as posited by Berthoff. These men would have been primarily concerned with economic survival rather than any type of recreational pursuit. Third, while Scots continued to immigrate to the United States throughout the Nineteenth Century, the previous mass immigration had ended forty years earlier, and any pipers who had arrived during that time would be part of an aging population. Fourth, many Scottish immigrants had gradually assimilated into the framework of American citizenship (Blevins, 2006; Erickson, 1972). Fifth, massive numbers of Scots and Americans of Scottish descent lost their lives in the American Civil War, and although bagpipers are not mentioned as combatants, bagpipers would have been just as likely as anyone to have taken part as private soldiers and to have died in battle. Finally, at this time there was no established mechanism for general GHB instruction, either in Scotland or in the United States. However, this declining trend of the Scottish culture and of the GHB, which depended on that culture for its existence, was soon to reverse.

1890-1930: THE SECOND ERA

Immigration and Reawakening

The years from the 1890s until the Great Depression of the 1930s saw another mass immigration of Scots to the United States (Berthoff, 1953, p.5). Additionally, many Americans of Scottish descent, in reaction to the mass immigration of other European ethnic groups, began to rediscover their own roots, taking on the voluntary cultural affinity of their heritage, for the first time becoming “Scottish-Americans.”

The term “hyphenated Americans,” coined in 1889, became for some a derogatory label (Penrose, 1889, pp.53-54). For a time some feared the United States would disintegrate into a “[T]angle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans...” as Theodore Roosevelt denounced in a speech against such sentiment, saying, “The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans; and there ought to be no room for them in this country. ...the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart-allegiance, the better it will be for every good American.”³³ Typical American disregard for authority ensured Roosevelt’s speech had little effect. Such was the fervor of this newfound ethnicity that second and third-generation Scottish-Americans began writing histories lauding the exploits of their progenitors (Green, 1896; Ford, 1915; Black, 1921). The combined factors of mass immigration and ethnic reawakening account for the interest that resulted in the explosive growth of Highland games, which quadrupled in numbers from around thirty in 1895, to at least 125 by 1920 (Berthoff, 1983, p.8). Admittedly, beginning in 1857 there is increasing documentation of bagpiping activities, due to the publication of a weekly Scottish newspaper, the *Scottish American Journal* (1857-1886), later renamed the *Scottish American* (1886-1916).³⁴ However, it must be noted that the *Scottish American Journal* was in existence, reporting on Scottish matters and events before the beginning of the Civil War, so even improved documentation and reporting cannot account for the remarkable expansion of Highland games in the United States between 1890 and 1920. The *Scottish American Journal* frequently notes the presence of bagpipers to the extent that bagpipers were present at Scottish events, but

³³ Retrieved January 14, 2014: http://conservapedia.com/Hyphenated_American

³⁴ Retrieved January 12, 2012: http://www2.hsp.org/collections/Balch%20manuscript_guide/html/scottish.html

rarely includes any details of their performance. Another development in Scottish culture, and by far the one that most noticeably affected bagpiping during this time of mass immigration and cultural reawakening, was the creation of pipe bands, along with the immigration of enough bagpipers to form them in America.

The Arrival of Pipe Bands

Although pipes had occasionally been played alongside drums since the Sixteenth Century, the concept of a group of bagpipers and drummers playing as a dedicated band came about during the time of the Crimean War (1854-1856). Bagpiping did exist in the United States in the form of solo and pipe band experiences before 1900, but there is no hard evidence dating the first pipe band in this country (Stewart, July 18, 1886, unpaginated). By comparison, GHBs had been an active and important part of the Canadian military since at least 1816, which remains one significant factor in the stronger presence of bagpiping in Canada to the present.³⁵ However, the first civilian pipe band in Canada, which had much closer ties to Scotland, was not formed until 1896, so it is not surprising that civilian pipe bands did not appear in the United States until later.³⁶ One of the earliest documented references to pipe bands in the United States is of the Pittsburgh Pipe Band Society, which was in existence by 1905 (Stewart, June 29, 1916, unpaginated). The creation of an actual society dedicated to pipe bands infers a group of bands, although this is not verifiable. However, pipe bands are not formed overnight, and supposing that there were enough pipe bands in Pittsburgh by 1905 to warrant a society, pipe bands would certainly have had to be present prior to that time. The “Handbook of Greater Pittsburg” lists the Scotch GHB Band, organized in 1894

³⁵ Retrieved August 16, 2011: <http://www.worldmilitarybands.com/pipers-and-pipe-bands>

³⁶ Retrieved March 23, 2012: <http://www.sospb.com/the-band.html>

under the direction of Pipe Major David Sutherland (Kelly, 1895, p.86).³⁷ Several American pipe bands place their inception to the early years of the Twentieth Century, including the Holyoke Caledonian Kiltie Band, from Holyoke, Massachusetts, formed about 1910 (Davidson, Summer 1998, p.41); the Yonkers Kilty Pipe Band, of Yonkers, New York, formed in 1912, (Sperl, Summer 2004, p.12); the Pipes and Drums of Clan MacAlpine, of Rockford, Illinois, also from 1912;³⁸ the Clan Douglas Pipe Band of Wilkinsburg, Pennsylvania, also from 1912 (Kerr, et al., 1946, p.34); and the Schenectady, New York, Pipe Band, founded in 1917 (McGonigal, Fall 2007, p.5). Certainly by 1920 there were several, possibly dozens, of active pipe bands in the Eastern United States.

Most of the available evidence suggests early pipe bands in the United States were manned almost exclusively by expatriate Scots, and although total immigration numbers are available, it is impossible to say how many bagpipers actually immigrated during this time. The first native-born American bagpipers would likely have been children of these immigrants, although that is not verifiable. The first documented example of teaching children in the United States occurred in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1905, under the auspices of the Pittsburgh Pipe Band Society (Stewart, June 29, 1916, unpaginated). There is no apparent documentation to describe who these children were, or what their relationship was to bagpiping. Despite a continued lack of detail regarding bagpiping activities, the general Scottish-American culture continued to expand.

³⁷ The City of Pittsburgh was spelled both with and without a final “h” throughout the Nineteenth Century Retrieved, January 29, 2014: <http://www.popularpittsburgh.com/pittsburgh-info/pittsburgh-history/whatsinanh.aspx>

³⁸ Retrieved January 2, 2012: <http://www.mclarendesign.net/MACALPINE/base.html>

The Expansion of Highland Games

Throughout the early years of the Twentieth Century, competitions were taking place in ever increasing numbers, more than quadrupling from fewer than thirty in 1895 to at least 125 by 1920 (Berthoff, 1983, p.8). Despite growing participation, the standard of play at these events was not high, as evidenced by comments made by Duncan McCaskill, an expatriate Scot, later one of the founding members and the first president of the EUSPBA. Describing the low standard of bagpiping he found upon his arrival to the United States in the early 1920s, due in large measure to the limited instruction available, which was usually obtained through a small number of pipe bands, McCaskill remarked, “There were not many good solo pipers here, and the level of competition available did little to make the few that existed want to participate” (Donaldson, 1986, p.101). Limited instruction availability remained an obstacle to the growth of bagpiping throughout this era.

The years between the First and Second World Wars saw very little organized piping, and apparently no focus on GHB education (Donaldson, 1986, p.101). As an example, Donaldson (1986) discusses McCaskill’s tuition, observing that he had only nine years of lessons in Scotland prior to immigrating to the United States, and from then on, since bagpiping instructors were so scarce in the 1920s, he received all his subsequent tuition as a member of the Standard Oil Pipe Band, his only opportunity to continue with his studies (p.104). If bagpiping instructors at this time were difficult to find, piobaireachd instructors were virtually nonexistent (Donaldson, 1986, p.105). In the United States, piobaireachd was introduced sporadically into competition much later than other aspects of bagpiping. As an example, the first piobaireachd competition in Texas was not held until 1975, although several

Highland games on the east coast held piobaireachd events prior to 1975 (Regan, personal recollection, October 23, 2013).

McCaskill began competing in the United States in 1926, although at that time there were few competitors, and the judging was inconsistent, stating: “I could count on my ten fingers just who I had to watch out for in America in my day... Some judges were has-beens; they never won anything in their lives. They could talk piping, but they didn’t really know much about it” (Donaldson, 1986, p.104). One possible reason for a lack of good players might have been because of the heavy losses experienced by bagpipers in the early days of the First World War. So many bagpipers were killed while going “over the top,” of approximately 2500 pipers who took part in the First World War, 500 were killed and an additional 600 wounded, that the British High Command eventually pulled bagpipers out of the front ranks for fear of losing the entire GHB culture in the fields of France.³⁹ These catastrophic losses must have impacted the number of bagpipers immigrating to the United States after the war. Whatever the cause, scarcity of good players in the United States, adversely impacted by inadequate or nonexistent instruction and magnified by often unreliable and unqualified judges, resulted in a severe dampening effect on the progress of bagpiping. Fortunately, solo performance and competition were no longer the sole aspects of the bagpiping tradition. While there was little private instruction or valid competition available for solo bagpipers, a small but vibrant pipe band culture and community survived.

1930-1945: The Second Decline

During the Great Depression immigration dropped off dramatically, with numbers remaining low until well after the Second World War. Fewer than 7,000

³⁹ Retrieved February 22, 2014: <http://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/pipers-honoured-2850120>

Scots immigrated in the years 1931-1940, and only about 16,000 immigrated in the years 1941-1950, with the bulk of those immigrating after the Second World War (Berthoff, 1953, p.5). Highland games continued throughout the 1930s, as did bagpiping, but without a significant influx of new members into the culture, interest once again began to decline (Berthoff, 1982, p.12). Even though Scottish culture remained large enough to gain the notice of *Time* magazine in 1938, with a short article describing the Holmdel, New Jersey Highland games, the combined assaults of financial upheaval, disorganization, and diminishing immigration ensured that the Scottish-American culture would once again dwindle (Janoski, Summer 2007, p. 24).⁴⁰ As a peripheral component of the greater Scottish culture, the bagpiping subculture continued to exist, and thanks to the popularity of pipe bands, even grew slightly in the United States prior to the Second World War, so that by 1940 there were more than thirty pipe bands in the United States. Even so, this subculture was apparently not organized on a national scale, despite being active on a local level.

Fewer new immigrants, an aging expatriate and Scottish-American population, the lasting disruption of the Great Depression, and the upheaval of the Second World War, combined to dissipate interest in Scottish cultural awareness and participation, and this loss of interest once again adversely affected the presence of bagpiping. Without some type of change, interest in Scottish culture and the GHB might have disappeared entirely. That change came with the end of the Second World War and the arrival of a different kind of Scottish immigrant to America. Once again, the GHB was about to enjoy a renaissance.

40 The text of this article may be found in Appendix 2.2.

1945- 2013: THE THIRD ERA

Following the Second World War many Scots settled in the Eastern United States, and this immigration, although much smaller in numbers than the mass influx of the early 1900s, brought skilled players and experienced instructors, who held an enthusiastic fervor for propagating the GHB culture (Devine, 2011, p.276). If there had been practically no GHB instruction in the United States until this time, the opposite was true in Scotland. In 1907 the Royal Piobaireachd Society had begun sending teachers throughout Scotland to instruct, and this initiative was bearing fruit nationally (Cannon, 2012a, p.2). Additionally, beginning in 1910 the Piobaireachd Society collaborated with the British army to establish, among other things, the Army School of Bagpiping at Edinburgh Castle (Cannon, 2012b, p.2). As a result, excellent, standardized instruction became available to children in Scottish schools, and bagpipers in the British army, which they in turn disseminated throughout Scotland. Since the majority of army bagpipers were “hostilities only” soldiers, or members of a regiment in the Territorial Army, this allowed them to remain at home between the First and Second World War, and to develop their bagpiping as a hobby.⁴¹ Upon being called up for active duty in the Second World War, these bagpipers’ skills were further honed as full-time bagpipers serving in the Royal Army. Not only was their skill as bagpipers enhanced, like their numerous comrades, these veterans returned from the war with a newfound sense of adventure and purpose. Their sense of adventure found mollification in the pioneer spirit required of all immigrants. For many, their sense of purpose required them to journey to America.

⁴¹ The Territorial Army is the equivalent of the American U.S. Army Reserve or the State National Guard. Members of these units would have had minimal time requirements unless called up to active duty.

Upon their arrival in the United States, these Scottish bagpipers found few American bagpipers, and even fewer of any skill. One of these immigrant Scots, George Bell, worked in the mines during the war, immigrating in 1951 at the age of twenty-five (Bell, J., personal interview, September 17, 2011). Upon his arrival in the United States, the few pipers Bell initially encountered were elderly Scottish expatriates, such as Donald Buchanan, John MacKenzie, Duncan MacCaskill, Sr., Bill Palmer, and George Duncan, all of whom Bell described as good players, "...[B]ut it was nothing like today, nothing. The amount of competitors we have today, compared to then, it's no comparison at all" (Wassman, 1996, p.22).

Many of these bagpiping immigrants had competed in solo and pipe band competitions in Scotland prior to the war as members of military or civilian pipe bands. Their first goal was to recreate an environment in which to play their music. For most, this meant forming new pipe bands. Former Royal Air Force officer, piper MacLean MacLeod, founder of the United States Piping Foundation, describes the inception of one of the first postwar pipe bands: "...[S]ome 11 Scottish immigrants, pipers and drummers all, decided to form a Pipe Band in the Wilmington, Delaware area called the 'Gordon Heights Pipe Band' not because of allegiance to the famous Scottish Regiment but rather in deference to the local Gordon Heights Fire Station that provided a free practice hall" (Summer 2008, p.20). Having begun to develop pipe bands in which to play, the next goal was to create a similar culture of friendly competition in the United States, and that meant creating venues at which to compete. Realizing that there were, at the time, only a few Highland games in the United States, in 1959 the Gordon Heights Pipe Band formed the Scottish Games in Delaware (MacLeod, Summer 2008, p.20). MacLeod continues: "Youthful enthusiasm and blind faith outbalanced sound judgment and the first Delaware

Highland Gathering was held in Delaware Park in August of 1960” (Summer 2008, p.20). Beginning with only five pipe bands at the first event, the Games moved to Fair Hill, Maryland, in 1966, changing its name to Colonial Highland Gathering in 1974 to avoid confusion with another large event, the Delaware County, later the Delco Highland Games, of Pennsylvania (MacLeod, Summer 2008, p.20). Since its intrepid, if modest beginning, the Colonial Highland Gathering has grown to become one of the largest events in the EUSPBA, fielding 27 bands and 165 solo competitors in 2014.⁴² In addition to promoting general Scottish culture and awareness, the wide development of Highland games such as the Colonial Highland Gathering has contributed strongly to the growth in popularity of the GHB, as well as to the improved standard of play, and a sense of cohesion and organization in the Eastern United States. Beyond the success of the event, and beyond the collateral benefit to virtually every other element of the greater Scottish culture, it is significant to note that the Colonial Highland Gathering was the brainchild of a pipe band.

As Highland games in the Northeastern United States continued to grow, the Southern United States also began to experience a reawakening of Scottish cultural interest. This opened up an entirely new region to the GHB. Prior to the late 1950s the Southern cultural connection to Scotland had remained essentially dormant since the end of the Revolutionary War, the exception to that being the presence of Presbyterian churches and the colleges established by them (MacDonald, 2007, p.109). Dormant, perhaps, but not extinct, as the Charleston, South Carolina, St. Andrew’s Society, which claims to be the oldest such organization in the United States, has been in continuous operation since 1729.⁴³ The “Scotch Fair,” held in Laurel Hill, North Carolina, mentioned earlier, was closed in 1873 after the local

⁴² Retrieved May 19, 2014: http://euspba.org/compete_results.aspx

⁴³ Retrieved July 12, 2013: <http://standrewssocietyofcharlestonsc.org/history/>

Presbyterian minister circulated a petition against it, claiming that people were disturbed by “the drinking” (MacDonald, 2007, p.213). From that date, Highland games and gatherings were not held in the South for another eighty-two years.

Ironically, given the Southern states’ late development of bagpiping, the first major Highland games held in the South, the Grandfather Mountain Highland Games, inaugurated in 1956, predates all but three of the Northern Highland games (MacDonald, 2007, p.464). Popular with audiences since its inception, “Grandfather” has become one of the largest Highland gatherings in the world in terms of overall attendance. Since 1956 the growth of Highland games and of Scottish cultural presence in the Southern states has matched that of the North. In fact, such has been the growth of bagpiping in the South that of 62 competitions sanctioned by the EUSPBA in 2013, 31 were held in Southern States.⁴⁴ The wave of Scottish immigrant bagpipers primed the United States, North and South, for growth, by creating new pipe bands, and by providing venues at which to compete.

An equally important reason for the growth of bagpiping in the United States after the Second World War was the previously unknown affluence that suddenly appeared in American society. For the first time in history, vast segments of the population had the financial freedom to pursue recreational endeavours and the discretionary time to do so. Furthermore, the experience of being American now meant that Americans were no longer required or expected to maintain a single cultural identification, and could instead choose almost any ethnic culture with which to identify, as well as whether or not to participate in any ethnic cultural activities at all. As such, many Americans of Scottish descent began to slowly rediscover their cultural heritage (Devine, 2011, p.276). Although this phenomenon occurred slowly

⁴⁴ Retrieved January 5, 2014: http://euspba.org/compete_calendar.aspx

at first, it began to gain momentum in the 1970s, surprisingly, perhaps, as a result of national interest in Alex Haley's bestselling novel, *Roots*, a story about an African-American's journey to discover his ethnic heritage (Zurawik, 1992, unpaginated). As African-Americans began to look back to their cultural history, others followed, each seeking an understanding of his ethnic background. These seekers almost always found a mixture of cultural histories. Few Americans of more than third-generation immersion in the United States "melting pot" can claim bloodlines from only one country. Many Americans of Scottish descent, though their blood was now mixed with perhaps several other cultures, chose to take up a hyphenated mantle, becoming Scottish-Americans. Additionally, many Americans, whether or not of Scottish or Irish descent, had become exposed to the GHB during their time overseas in the United States military, and having once heard the instrument, were determined to learn to play it.

However, the most important factor influencing the growth in bagpiping following the Second World War was the evangelistic attitude of the Scottish immigrant bagpipers. These were men who wanted not to merely retain their musical tradition, but to spread bagpiping, and if the ethnic heritage of the prospective student had ever been an issue, it was an issue no longer. These new bagpiping immigrants were willing to teach anyone who wanted to learn. Even into the years immediately following the Second World War, pipe band members were usually expatriate Scots, with few exceptions to this rule (Dixon and Ritchie, Spring 2006, p.55).

However, non-Scots as well as Scottish-Americans were soon to take advantage of the opportunity to learn how to play the pipes. Among the non-Scots was James Patrick Regan, an Englishman who as a member of the Royal Navy, had first heard the GHB on May 20, 1943, at the North African victory parade in Tunis,

Tunisia, during the Second World War. When he heard the pipes being played by the 51st Highland Division, he vowed that if he survived the war, one day he would learn to play the pipes. It was not until 1956, when he immigrated to Dallas, Texas, that he met James Blair, the first known bagpiper in Texas since 1836, who taught Regan to play the GHB.⁴⁵ Regan's story was one that would be repeated in increasing numbers throughout the United States over the next decades. Such has been the appeal of the GHB in the Eastern United States that one is now just as likely to see someone named Brizuela, Giliberto, or Zeglowitsch, as Buchanan, MacKay, or MacLeod in the ranks of an American pipe band.⁴⁶

For the third time, Scottish-American culture had come into a vibrant existence, led by enthusiastic immigrants, followed by Americans of Scottish descent, and this time joined by people who had no particular Scottish connection, but who simply claimed to love the GHB as a musical instrument, independent of its attendant cultural connections. As this new bagpiping population grew in the 1950s and into the early 1960s, several leaders in the American bagpiping community became concerned with the future stability of their work. The bagpiping culture, which had always been a marginal subculture of the larger Scottish-American community, found itself in a previously unseen situation. Instead of depending on the Scottish culture to dictate the fortunes of bagpiping, the bagpipers themselves, for the first time in history, had the opportunity to direct their own future. These visionary leaders intuitively recognized the necessity of some form of organization if they expected the growth to continue. The organization they created was the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association.

45 The first Bagpiper in Texas was John MacGregor, who piped, fought, and died at the Alamo.

46 Of the 36 current members of the Macdonald Pipe Band of Pittsburgh, only five have Scottish surnames.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the introduction and development of bagpiping within the Eastern United States. Beginning with the initial introduction of GHBs in the Eighteenth Century, I traced the ebb and flow of bagpiping in the Eastern United States.

One of the significant and original conclusions I made was that bagpiping has enjoyed three distinct and separate eras in its almost 300 year connection to what is now the Eastern United States. The First Era came at the end of the Eighteenth Century, lasting into the early years of the Nineteenth Century; the Second Era occurred from the last years of the Nineteenth Century to the early years of the Twentieth Century; and the Third Era began after the Second World War. The three manifestations were only tenuously connected to one another, and each occurred, waxed, and subsequently waned because of different influences.

The First Era occurred as an incidental byproduct of the Scottish immigrants' desire to retain elements of their cultural identity while assimilating into the American culture. In the First Era, interest in the culture waned as the initial population of immigrants died. The initial immigrants were unsuccessful in transmitting their culture to their immediate descendants as a tradition. Additionally, the American Civil War dealt a severe blow to the culture because of the losses suffered by Americans of Scottish descent, who fought and died in disproportionate numbers on both sides of the conflict. During this First Era, the GHB was a peripheral token of the Scottish culture, without an independent culture of its own, depending on the greater Scottish culture for its existence and validation. As such, when the Scottish culture in the United States declined, the presence of the GHB in the United States declined with it.

The Second Era, although largely fueled by immigration, enjoyed additional support and direction from an awakened sense of heritage in Americans of Scottish descent. These newly defined Scottish-Americans added stability to the Scottish cultural presence in the United States. Although adversely affected by national and world events, the Second Era achieved marginal continuity after the immigrants died out or assimilated, because the second group of participants, those of Scottish descent, were voluntary members of the culture. The combined cataclysms of the Great Depression followed soon after by the Second World War hastened the decline of the Second Era. As occurred in the First Era, when interest in the Scottish culture declined, the fortunes of the GHB, as a novel but marginal accessory of that culture, failed also.

The Third Era, although guided by immigrants and Scottish-Americans, has been powered by many who have no direct ties to Scotland whatsoever. These are people who take up the GHB for reasons other than an inherent cultural connection. The Third Era has continued to grow and flourish since its inception, largely because the culture is now that of the GHB rather than of Scotland. In the Third Era, for all the external trappings: the kilt; the traditional repertoire; and the Highland games, the GHB itself, rather than the larger Scottish culture, is now the primary driving force in American GHB culture.

CHAPTER III: THE EASTERN UNITED STATES PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION

Early Years

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw the introduction of several Highland games into the Eastern United States, some of them primarily in an effort to provide a venue for pipe band competitions. The leaders of the bagpiping community began to realize that with the growth in popularity of the instrument, combined with increasing numbers of Highland games, some type of organization would be required to guide and direct this growth. With that goal in mind, several bagpipers and drummers gathered together in 1964 to form the United States Pipe Band Association. Meeting at Asbury Park, New Jersey, Duncan McCaskill, Sr., Robert Gilchrist, James Kerr, George Bell, Maclean MacLeod, John Murray, and James Cairns, with Duncan McCaskill, Sr., serving as the first president, established a constitution modeled after the Scottish Pipe Band Association, adapting it to the perceived needs of an American experience (McMullin, Fall 2003, p.5).⁴⁷ For the first eight years of the USPBA's existence, the organization concerned itself solely with establishing rules regarding pipe band competition, especially focusing on higher grade bands, but in 1972, this emphasis changed, with several new developments. First, the association changed its name to the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association, or EUSPBA, with the intent of more accurately reflecting its real goals (McMullin, Fall 2004, p.5). This was perhaps the least important change, but it was considered an act of courtesy to the Western States Pipe Band Association (WSPBA), later the Western United States Pipe Band Association (WUSPBA), based in California, and the Southwest Piping and Drumming Association, based primarily in Texas, and which interestingly never used an acronym. Second, the pipe band

⁴⁷ A brief biography of several pioneer EUSPBA teachers may be found in Appendix 3.1.

grading classification changed from “A,” “B,” and “C,” to a numeric grading of I, II, III, and IV, expanding the number of grades to conform with Scotland and Canada, as well as to attempt to encourage lower-grade bands to compete (MacDonald, 2004, p.2). The classification change might seem like an inconsequential detail, but conforming to the Scottish model was seen at the time as a step toward legitimacy. The addition of a Grade IV, and later a Grade V, category, became a vital step in the growth of the organization, because it allowed bands to compete which were comprised of beginners, who would have otherwise taken years to reach the level of play of the top EUSPBA bands at the time, or comprised of poorer players, often adult beginners, who would have never been able to attain that level of skill. Third, in an attempt to bring American grading even closer in line with the Canadian and Scottish standard, pipe bands entering competition for the first time would now be given a provisional grade, which could be modified during the initial competition season, if necessary, but in subsequent years, grading would be based on the previous year’s competition results (MacDonald, 2004, p.2). Fourth, and most important, the organization began to develop standardized rules for solo competition, which were introduced beginning in 1973 (McMullin, Fall 2004, p.5). Also in 1973, and of equal importance to the overall development of bagpiping, was the inception of standardized score sheets, followed in 1974 by the first attempt to provide a standardized process for training judges (MacDonald, 2004, p.5). This initial attempt to train judges consisted of a brief apprentice program only, consisting of the apprentice judge shadowing a judge during a few competitions, writing a score sheet for each event, and then being placed on the judges’ panel (MacDonald, 2004, p.4). Additional examination requirements were added several years later. With these innovations in place, the EUSPBA began to expand its influence westward.

DEVELOPMENT, EXPANSION, AND INNOVATION

From its establishment, the EUSPBA strove to improve the quality of bagpiping and drumming in the United States. This vision led to many new and innovative ideas for the expansion of bagpiping, including: creation of competition sanctioning procedures for Highland games; development of a certification program of proficiency exams; judge's exams and seminars; standardized score sheets; and a grading system for amateur solo competitors.

Competition Sanctioning

Even though the EUSPBA's aims consisted of establishing standardized competition rules, the leaders had no intention of actually running any type of events, at least not under the auspices of the EUSPBA itself. This intent contrasted with the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association (RSPBA) and the Pipers and Pipe Band Society of Ontario (PPBSO), both of which operate as the actual organizer for all games sanctioned by those associations, scheduling events, registering competitors, and selecting judges for each venue. Initial recommendations from an advisory board chaired by teacher and judge Sandy Jones, that the EUSPBA follow the RSPBA/PPBSO model, were rejected in favour of a more permissive, "hands off" policy, which gave the maximum autonomy to the individual games, while allowing the EUSPBA to retain the minimum necessary oversight regarding actual rules and selection of judges (Jones, 1972, p.3). The EUSPBA approach also contrasted with the design of Scottish solo events, which were completely autonomous from one another. In Scotland, the organizers of each solo competition independently determine the type of event, the event requirements, and the selection of judges. The EUSPBA leaders wanted to ensure that wherever a competitor went, he would know what to expect in terms of tune requirements, protocol, and quality of judging. To

that end, the EUSPBA set up sanctioning requirements, offering them as a benefit to the various Highland games, while leaving the detailed decisions to the individual organizers. A Highland games committee choosing to gain EUSPBA sanctioning would still be able to determine which events to offer and which judges to hire, but they would choose both the events and the judges from an approved list. Instead of having to come up with their own score sheets, sanctioned games were given access to standardized score sheets. Other assistance, such as a games monitor, to ensure compliance with EUSPBA rules, was provided to the games. At first, the EUSPBA leaders feared that the Highland games committees might reject sanctioning as too restrictive, but the Highland games committees soon realized that sanctioning provided an invaluable service without any loss of independence, as well as an official “seal of approval” from the EUSPBA (MacDonald, 2004, p.12). Furthermore, the competitors enthusiastically supported sanctioning because the standardization of competitive requirements removed one psychological burden from them. As Highland dance judge Gladys MacDonald, Roddy MacDonald’s wife, recalled, “It was one less thing they had to worry about” (MacDonald, G., personal interview, February 23, 2012). This innovation became the foundation for all of the other growth experienced by the EUSPBA.

Certification Programme

One initiative of the EUSPBA, though instigated somewhat later than many others, clearly intended to improve the overall standard of bagpiping, the Certification Programme, a graded proficiency examination, first appeared in the EUSPBA in the early 1980s, administered by Roddy MacDonald (MacDonald, personal interview, February 23, 2012). Admittedly, the idea of proficiency exams was not original to the EUSPBA, with the College of Piping and the RSPBA having

previously developed the idea. Initially designed to examine students of all ability levels on grade appropriate aspects of bagpiping, the intent of the program was to groom students to ultimately gain admission to the EUSPBA Adjudicator's Panel. The first exam took place on October 29, 1983, in Houston, Texas, with 63 examinees of varying levels of experience and proficiency (Regan, personal recollection, December 17, 2013). However, one of the perceived flaws of the program lies in the requirements for the preliminary exams. The syllabus for the first four exams, set by MacDonald, are based on the *Logan's Tutor*, an "Exercises First" tutor book.⁴⁸ Because of MacDonald's decisions, a student of the "College of Piping" method, by far the most widespread approach to bagpiping instruction, who had successfully completed the *College of Piping, Part One* in its entirety, despite being able to play at least ten tunes on the practice chanter, would not have the necessary knowledge of scales to pass the "Preliminary Certificate," which has no requirement to play a tune. This incompatibility between teaching philosophies has adversely affected acceptance of the Certification Programme, and although there have been several attempts to promote the program, it has not been particularly successful in the EUSPBA.

Following the first attempt in 1983, the exams remained unused until they were reinstituted by MacDonald in the fall of 1991, in the hope that the program would provide an additional incentive to EUSPBA members to strive towards improving their theoretical comprehension and playing ability (Walker, March 1992, p.7). Additionally, MacDonald (Spring 2010, p.14), and later, Bottomley (Spring 2011, p.6), asserted that the certificate programme would achieve its original end, ultimately assisting the Music Board in making determinations regarding upgrading a

⁴⁸ Examined in greater detail in Chapter V, the "Exercises First" method of instruction requires extended attention to scales and exercises prior to the introduction of the first tune, compared to the "College of Piping" method, which introduces tunes within the first few weeks of study.

competitor to professional grade and subsequently to the judges' panel. However, this program has still not received widespread interest from the membership, perhaps because the program is optional, and perhaps because of the intense focus on achievement through the traditional avenue of competitive success, but mostly because there has never appeared to be widespread enthusiasm on the part of the EUSPBA leadership for the program. The Certification Programme currently serves almost exclusively in the capacity that was originally intended to be its ultimate purpose, acting as a barrier exam for potential candidates into the apprentice judge program.

Judges' Exams and Seminars

In contrast to the Certification Programme, one of the most successful and far-reaching innovations made by the EUSPBA concerns adjudicator training and certification (Stack, Winter 1997, p.5). Introduced in 1983, the EUSPBA claims to be the first piping association to develop a standardized training and examination program for judges, which was referred to by EUSPBA founding member MacLean MacLeod as, "...[T]he greatest advance in piping in the last 100 years" (Donaldson, 1986, p.107). At the time of its inception, it was the first and only standardized judges' training program in the world. This is no longer the case, as both the RSPBA and the PPBSO now have adjudicators' exams. However, it is notable that the EUSPBA initiated this development. Interestingly, the EUSPBA judges' exams and apprentice program were developed independently by the EUSPBA after the RSPBA refused to assist in the program (MacDonald, 2004, p.11).

Prior to the creation of the EUSPBA, no standard judging qualifications existed in the United States, so the standard of judging was often inconsistent, with no agreed upon criteria for evaluating a performance (Donaldson, 1986, p.104).

However, inconsistent judging in the United States does not mean that judging was universally agreed upon elsewhere. Competition results have always been in dispute, and not just in the United States. There is even a Scottish pipe tune called “The Judging Was Bad.” With the inception of the EUSPBA, a certain measure of ability began to be required of the judges, although even at that point there were no standardized judging qualifications, and inclusion on the adjudicators’ panel was by common consent of the EUSPBA leadership; those who were deemed qualified were placed on the panel (MacDonald, 2004, p.11). This method of selecting judges worked well for fourteen years, but by 1978, because of the substantial growth experienced by the EUSPBA, the leadership saw the necessity of standardized selection and training of judges. At the conclusion of five years of planning, the first judges’ exams were held in 1983. The EUSPBA held exams the following two years, but in 1987 introduced further innovations to the judges training process, which included: exam preparation seminars; separate discipline-specific exams for solo light music, piobaireachd, and pipe bands; and an apprenticeship following successful completion of the exam (MacDonald, 2004, p. 30). These innovations were implemented because of a desire on the part of the EUSPBA leadership to improve the standard of competition, and the leadership reasoned the best way to improve the standard across the grades was to improve the competency of the judges through a detailed examination process (McIntosh, May 1992, p.5). However, the judges’ exams are only the first step in gaining membership to the adjudicators’ panel. Candidates who pass the initial exams are required to serve for at least one year as apprentice judges, writing score sheets which are in turn reviewed by a panel of examiners prior to admission to the panel (Hanley, Summer 1998, p.6).

To compare the EUSPBA procedure for certifying judges to the process now used by the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, the two programs are equivalent in scope, although not identical in procedure. The RSPBA requires prospective judges to pass a musical qualification exam, after which they receive a weekend course on adjudication topics, followed by twelve apprentice experiences each year for two years, culminating in a comprehensive judge's exam (McIntosh, Winter 1997, p.26). The only significant difference between the EUSPBA program and the RSPBA process is that in the EUSPBA, the judge's final exam is given to the candidates prior to their apprentice experience.

In an additional effort to improve the quality and experience of its judges, beginning in 1991 the EUSPBA Adjudication Advisory Board began to hold judges' seminars for continuing education. The goals of these meetings were originally to give judges an opportunity to discuss and exchange ideas, to evaluate and update judging practices, and to make recommendations for improvements to the EUSPBA Executive Committee (Tunncliffe, May 1991, p.17). The first judges' meeting, held on April 27, 1991, in Mt. Laurel, New Jersey, included a presentation on ensemble judging by Pipe Major and GHB maker Robert Shepherd (Tunncliffe, May 1991, p.17). Judges' seminars have continued to be presented, with the recent addition of online and teleconferencing meetings, allowing more opportunities for judges to meet (MacNeill, Summer 2011, p. 5). However, the original intent, to provide a venue for the free exchange and discussion of ideas, and further, to give the judges the opportunity to discuss issues and make recommendations to the EUSPBA Executive Committee, is no longer considered appropriate at these meetings. Prior to each judges' meeting, a notice is now sent out by the Executive Committee to the participants, which contains a specific agenda, and a firm reminder that the floor is

not open for discussion of non-agenda items. Some judges assert the decision to refuse to allow judges to hold an open discussion at these meetings inhibits the growth of the EUSPBA (Bell, J., personal interview, September 17, 2011).

Standardized Score Sheets

The second most important innovation made by the EUSPBA was the creation and development of standardized score sheets, initially intended to be an educational tool. The explosive growth in competition entries afforded by the grading system, examined in detail next, created unique growing pains for the association. A program to expand the judges' panel, examined previously, was developed, and score sheets were created in an effort to standardize judging (Donaldson, 1986, p.107). Prior to the innovation of standardized score sheets, each Highland games created their own, if there was a score sheet at all. Often, judges simply wrote down remarks in a notebook, and comments were not always made available to the competitors after the event. As the number of competitors increased, the EUSPBA leadership expressed the hope that a standardized score sheet might streamline the competition process, facilitate a smoother transition between competitors, and provide a beneficial critique to the competitor (MacDonald, 2004, p.13). Since their first appearance in 1973, these hopes have met varied reviews from the competitors, as score sheets have been the subject of much lively debate, often because of inconsistent use by the judges, as Mark Dubois, teacher, competitor, and judge, complains: "I certainly paid for that score sheet and the games paid for that judge to come to the games. ...*usually* the judges are fair and concise in their comments, but it pains me to see the score sheets of students and friends that have still to climb the piping ladder with useless score sheets" (DuBois, Summer 1997, p.8). What Dubois fails to concede in his remarks, written before he became a judge,

is that competitions are usually so heavily attended, and the timing of each event so tight, that judges are typically given less than a minute in their schedule between competitors in which to write their remarks. Furthermore, if a judge runs late in an event, there is practically no way to catch up. Blaming the judge for a hastily written score sheet, when the judge often doesn't even have time to eat a quick lunch, is unfair to the judge. While score sheets did not fulfill the initial goal of guaranteeing standardized judging, this was not the fault of the score sheets, which have at least served the purpose of providing much needed, if not universally consistent, written feedback for competitors.⁴⁹ The plan to streamline competitions has backfired to an extent because the score sheets have had the unintended effect of allowing the organizers to cram even more competitors into the available time. Despite unintended complications arising from their use, and notwithstanding the continued variance in comment quality from one judge to another, taken as a whole, the introduction of standardized score sheets has been viewed as a major positive step in improving the standard of playing throughout the association (McIntosh, May 1992, p.5).

Solo Competition Grading

By far, the most forward-thinking concept ever devised by the leaders of the EUSPBA was the implementation of graded solo competition in 1973. The first year, all competitors were given the freedom to “self-grade,” using guidelines supplied by the EUSPBA, but the following year, re-grading was based on the previous year's competitive results (MacDonald, 2004, p.3). More significantly, the concept of “stages, not ages,” a phrase coined by teacher and judge Roddy MacDonald, was designed to allow competitors to progress by ability, competing at their own level,

⁴⁹ Copies of the 2013 score sheets may be found in Appendix 3.2.

without age restrictions, rather than the “up or out” philosophy of Scotland, wherein competitors who had not reached a certain level of proficiency by adulthood had no competitive options at most events other than to compete against the top adult masters (MacDonald, 2004, p.3). This radical philosophical change was destined to alter the entire character of the EUSPBA, because for the first time in history, adults were encouraged to compete at their own level of ability, performing grade-appropriate music, rather than exclusively as and against professionals, creating a more level playing field, especially for beginners. These new rules, which have since been copied in Canada, meant, also for the first time, that adult beginners would be welcomed within the competing community. The amateur grades themselves were split into four levels, again each based on ability rather than age. Initially, the EUSPBA offered two “Open,” or professional grades, with “Open II” intended as a transitional grade between amateur and professional levels (MacDonald, 2004, p.4). Open II was abandoned as unnecessary the following year.

In contrast with the EUSPBA system, in Scotland until recently there have been generally only two grade levels for most competitions: “under eighteen” and “over eighteen” (Regan, Summer 1996, p.19). Often, “under eighteen” is subdivided into “local” and “non-local” events, as well as sometimes being further subdivided into two or three sections based on age, while the “over eighteen” is considered simply, “professional.” Such is the focus on encouraging youth competitors that some Scottish venues offer as many as fifteen different events for competitors age sixteen and under (McIntosh, Winter 2001, p.17). Except for the larger competitions, such as the Northern Meeting and the Argyllshire Gathering, which have graded (and restricted) entries, and more recently, a small but growing number of graded events sponsored by the Scottish Competing Pipers Association (CPA), most adult

competitions are usually a free for all, with inexperienced eighteen-year-old players competing against seasoned gold medalists. Even in the case of the CPA-graded events, these competitions cater only to different levels of aspiring professional grade-level competitors. This “one size fits all” philosophy toward competition tends to limit entries to those who are capable of seriously competing at the highest level. Until recently there was certainly no accommodation at most of the events in Scotland for “amateur” adult players, although this classification has been growing slowly in recent years, as opposed to the EUSPBA, where the only category in which adult competitors are prohibited is Grade IV Junior. However, in response to the growing population of adult amateur players, the National Piping Centre instituted the Competition League for Amateur Solo Pipers (CLASP).⁵⁰ This innovation in competition perspective has apparently been welcomed with several successful and well-attended events.⁵¹ Scottish judge David Murray lauds the idea of a grading system as an advance in competition organization:

In this respect the United States is well ahead of what used to be called the home country... There are those who smile indulgently at those Stateside Games... ...but those who think about these things must come to the conclusion that this has to be the way forward. All too often one sees the youngster who has swept the board... He then has to graduate to adult events where he has to play against the competitors with what the late John MacFadyen used to call ‘the killer instinct.’ After a few fruitless years he tends to drop out of sight, permanently discouraged, and sticks to the pipe band arena (Summer 1999b, p.19).

Murray’s remarks describe an experience that virtually never happens in the EUSPBA. In fact, in the EUSPBA, the opposite is often true, with competitors enthusiastically seeking annual upgrades to the next competitive level. Initially, upgrade was usually approved upon request, but by 1991 the number of competitors

⁵⁰ Retrieved January 18, 2016: <http://www.theclasp.co.uk/>

⁵¹ Retrieved January 18, 2016: <http://www.theclasp.co.uk/>

seeking an upgrade became so great that a dedicated Grading Committee had to be formed (Walker, March 1992, p.9).

The grading process has not been without controversy, as sometimes a competitor will be refused an upgrade request when he feels the upgrade is warranted. Complaining about a lack of apparent consistency in upgrade requirements, competitor Matthew Phelps states:

Several years ago, I submitted a letter to the committee after dominating my grade, and was informed by form letter that the grading committee felt that it was better that I stay where I was. The following year, I played only twice in the U.S., and was upgraded with approximately nine others. What had I achieved as a solo player in that year? I like to think that I did improve my playing, but there were no competitive results to indicate to the grading committee. Speaking to a Grade One competitor recently, I decided that the process is too subjective (Phelps, Spring 2001, p.11).

This feeling of frustration generated from not knowing what the Grading Committee expects is accurate, according to the following statement from Grading Committee Chairman June Hanley: “The philosophy of the grading committee does not remain the same from year to year... Decisions on moving people in and out of a particular grade may have different criteria from one year to another” (Hanley, Summer 2010, p.42). The system is admittedly flawed because of the subjective nature of the art form. Such flaws, while understandable, remain a point of frustration and confusion for many competitors.

An Educational Approach

Despite occasional confusion among the members, and despite occasional mistakes made by the leaders, foremost in the vision of the EUSPBA has always been the desire to improve the quality of bagpiping in the United States, and to elevate it to the highest standards of excellence, including tuning, tonality, execution correctness, fluency of musicality, and in the case of pipe bands, unison of playing,

goals generally sought by the widely acknowledged leaders of the competitive bagpiping community in Scotland. This desire is evidenced by a willingness to rethink issues and make changes when necessary; a focus on encouraging educational opportunities; and a desire to maintain and improve open lines of communication with the membership. The association has sought to accomplish this in part through thoughtful attention to competition event requirements, creating or supporting educational initiatives, and instituting a newsletter, which has developed into a professionally administered magazine.

Additionally, throughout its fifty-year existence, the EUSPBA has sought to improve the competition experience for its members. This mandate has resulted in many changes to various competition rules. One example of a competition rule that has been modified numerous times over the years is the piobaireachd requirement for the entry-level Grade IV Junior and Grade IV Senior grades. Full understanding and appreciation of the multiple changes made in this rule through the years requires a basic knowledge of piobaireachd construction.

Piobaireachd, or Ceol Mor, the “classical music” of the GHB, follows the simple construct of theme and variations, although to be more accurate, even the so-called theme, also known as the “Ground,” or “Urlar,” is a variation on the basic theme, which is never actually played in its pure form (Haddow, 1982, p.24).⁵² After the Ground, the piper continues through one or more variations on the theme, with the variations usually increasing in technical complexity, so that the most difficult execution appears at the end of the piece, when the performer is most likely to be fatigued. Instrument control is paramount in piobaireachd, as a steady pressure on the GHB must be maintained throughout the performance. Considering the duration of

⁵² The literal translation of the Gaelic word, “piobaireachd” is “bagpiping.” “Ceol Mor” translates as “music great” or the “big” music. “Urlar” means “the floor.”

many piobaireachds exceeds fifteen minutes in length, one can readily see how piobaireachd might tax a beginner's endurance. Moreover, because all GHB music is played from memory, the difficulties of memorizing fifteen minutes of music often prove to be a major obstacle. Finally, many of the difficult embellishments in piobaireachd require years of diligent practice to achieve mastery.

The Grade IV piobaireachd rule has often been, and continues to be, the subject of lively debate as judges, teachers, and competitors express opposing views on the best way to move forward. Prior to 1995, Grade IV piobaireachd was rarely offered as an event, and on those occasions when it was offered, the event required a full piobaireachd (Hanley, Spring 1996, p.28). Many judges felt that this inhibited Grade IV competitors from entering these events, and this was borne out in low competitor turnout at most events that were offered, so in 1995, the requirements of both Junior and Senior Grade IV events were changed to require competitors to play the Ground only (Hanley, Spring 1996, p.28). According to Hanley, when the Grade IV piobaireachd event was modified to be a "Ground Only" event, two positive results became evident. First, since "Ground Only" events require less time than full score competitions, more Highland games began to offer the event (Hanley, Spring 1996, p.28). Second, students, now being allowed to submit shorter selections, with proportionately fewer tuning, memory, technique, and performance obstacles began competing in far greater numbers than had previously been seen, submitting more complex tunes than they would otherwise been able to play at the Grade IV level (Hanley, Spring 1996, p.28).

The "Ground Only" rule change certainly achieved one desired effect: more competitors began to play piobaireachd. On the other hand, the fact that many of the beginners were competing with more complex tunes indicated some teachers were

apparently teaching more difficult Grounds simply for the purpose of competition, since the complexities of the entire piobaireachd at that level would have been completely out of reach for a beginner. In the United States, this is referred to as “teaching to the test,” a strategy sometimes employed in public schools to ensure a higher student pass rate, without regard to actual learning. Furthermore, some judges and teachers felt the association was sending the wrong message about the importance of music to the competitors, and some competitors felt slighted that they were not allowed to play a full tune. Hanley reflects on these sentiments:

We are teaching them that Piobaireachd is too difficult for a Grade IV player, that we don’t think they are capable of delivering a good performance. As one Grade IV player poignantly expressed at the AGM last November, “You’re telling me that you don’t care about listening to me, that my tune isn’t good enough to worry about” (Hanley, Spring 1996, pp.28-29).

In utter contrast to this view, competitor Jim Lacquement vehemently states in a letter to the editor of the *Voice* magazine:

You’re not serious right? Full piobaireachds for Grade 4? I need to comment on this... No matter what you guys sat around hatching up or whatever you read is going on in Scotland, this is a TERRIBLE idea. Grade 4 pipers are struggling/learning to phrase 2/4 marches, begin their first competition reels and strathspeys AND begin to learn piobaireachds with simple variations. So you believe it was wise to throw the length and complexity of a full tune on them?! Unreal. You just lost 75% of these beginners due to this and have crippled budding pipers’ interest to pursue the big music. What is wrong with you people? I for one protest this amendment and know MANY others will as well (Lacquement, Summer 2010, p.7).

Clearly, American competitors have no reticence in voicing their opinion of decisions made by the EUSPBA leadership, nor is the EUSPBA leadership of one mind on this subject. Rule changes for Grade IV piobaireachd competition are frequently discussed at the EUSPBA Annual General Meeting with similar enthusiasm. Debate is often lively and frequently heated. The conflicting sentiment concerning this issue revolves around establishing the purpose for entry-level

competition. Some teachers and judges regard Grade IV as an introduction to the ‘survival of the fittest’ competitive spirit that is part of the more advanced grades, while others view Grade IV as a nurturing grade, allowing every competitor to come away with something to work on and to encourage his playing (Hanley, Spring 1996, p.29). There appears to be no consensus on this.

For the 1996 competition season, the event remained “Ground Only,” although there was discussion that some competitions would be approached to hold a non-sanctioned, “full score” playoff (Hanley, Spring 1996, pp.29-31). No documentation exists that this actually took place at any events. The Highland games committees apparently took advantage of the shorter time required to hold the “Ground Only” event, without adding to the judges’ burgeoning workload. As debate raged on both sides of the issue, many of the EUSPBA leaders were seen to take a thoughtful approach to the argument. Teacher, competitor, and judge, Paula Glendinning initially opposed the “Ground Only” rule, but modified her views after witnessing an increase in the number of entry-level competitors:

I am now totally in favor of Ground Only contests, as they allow young children to compete and win prizes in Piobaireachd. As Reid Maxwell says, ‘We’re competing against Nintendo.’ Asking kids to practice for years until they can play an entire tune before they can compete in Piobaireachd is not a good strategy. But I have even watched adult beginners who have become more interested in Piobaireachd after first attempting Ground Only contests (Fall 2001, p.58).

James McIntosh, MBE, on the other hand disagrees entirely with Glendinning. Arguing in favour of “Full Score” events, McIntosh refutes Glendinning’s assertion that it takes years for a child to learn to play a full piobaireachd:

If we wonder why Scotland is strong in solo piping, reflect on this. They have events for Under-13 Piobaireachd, and two separate Piobaireachd events for children aged 13-16. These are all *full*

Piobaireachds! Children are able to pick things up very quickly and are capable of far more than we now expect. Why not give them more challenges and opportunities while they are at the “sponge” stage (Winter 2001, p.17).

McIntosh’s remarks advance an agenda which advocates full piobaireachd events for all competitors, even young children and beginners, in addition to making the point that events appear to be developed to benefit juvenile competitors more so in Scotland than in the United States.

The official rules for Grade IV piobaireachd events have swung back and forth almost annually between “Ground Only” and “Full Score.” In 2010 the EUSPBA ruled that Highland games would be permitted to hold a “Ground Only” event, but only if a “Full Score” event was also available (Bell, Summer 2010, p.4). At the 2011 Annual General Meeting, the suggestion was made to eliminate “Ground Only” altogether, replacing that event with “Ground and Two Variations,” plus “Full Piobaireachd” (Hamblin, Spring 2012, p.45). However, it was decided that there would be no change in the piobaireachd event for 2012, because it was felt that more than one year’s results needed to be evaluated to determine the benefit or detriment of this change (MacNeill, Spring 2012, p.5). Although changes over the years have invariably led to confusion and frustration, the attitude revealed by these changes shows that the EUSPBA is willing to consider developments from all sides, and is also willing to rethink decisions. To reiterate, the core principles of the EUSPBA are centered in a desire for education and promotion of excellence in playing, and this desire is not always readily achieved by simple solutions.

Continuing Education

Because of the enduring focus on improving the standard of bagpiping, continuing education for judges as well as competitors remains one of the principal goals of the EUSPBA. This has been true since the inception of the association. In

answer to the perceived need for organized educational venues, the Executive Committee established an Education Committee in 2007, initially chaired by June Hanley (Hackett, Spring 2007, p.7). The goal of the Education Committee was to conduct two or three educational events each year (Hanley, Spring 2007, p.24). These offerings might include events such as Friday night professional player recitals, master classes, band performance workshops, rhythm workshops for piping and drumming, Certification Exam workshops, or general workshops (Hanley, Spring 2007, p.22).⁵³

Initially, the EUSPBA intended the EUSPBA branches to create and take charge of these events. In this respect, the initiative does not appear to have gone according to plan, because while a wide variety of educational opportunities appear to be available throughout the year, individual pipe bands, rather than EUSPBA branches, host most of these events. As an example, in 2013, only three of thirty-seven educational events advertised on the EUSPBA web site were sponsored by EUSPBA branches. This is not to say the initiative has failed. Rather, if the number of educational events held throughout the year is any indication, the educational focus encouraged by the EUSPBA appears to be successful, notwithstanding the fact that these events, most frequently weekend band workshops, are largely sponsored by organizations other than the EUSPBA, and often unadvertised to the general bagpiping community. If the lack of EUSPBA oversight appears to some as a disintegration of organization, the success of most of these events indicates otherwise. The only perceived disadvantage seen in the way the numerous educational opportunities have developed is that, because most events are usually held by individual pipe bands, they are often attended only by that band, whereas

⁵³ These initiatives are described in detail in Chapter VI.

EUSPBA-sponsored functions would be open to all EUSPBA members, and this could be seen as limiting the effectiveness of the event. The thirty-seven events listed on the EUSPBA web site were open to anyone, but these were a small fraction of the events, most of which were not advertised, that took place in 2013. The reason for this apparent exclusivity is often because bands do not always communicate with each another, either because they want to maintain a competitive edge over their rivals, or because it simply doesn't occur to them to advertise the event to other area bands. One disadvantage to the sponsoring band is that such exclusivity, whether intentional or not, inhibits funding. Sharing the expenses, even with only one other band, spreads the financial burden. Furthermore, when bands inadvertently exclude others, they miss the opportunity to improve the sense of camaraderie among other members of the bagpiping community.

The *Voice* Magazine

Another successful educational initiative of the EUSPBA is the *Voice* magazine. Although not the first of its kind, the *Voice* magazine presents articles, news, and announcements in an engaging and informative way. First published as the *Bulletin of the EUSPBA* in 1972, several different editors ran the newsletter prior to 1994, at which time the work was taken over by Paula and Charlie Glendinning, and Mike Rogers, who began the transition from a simple newsletter to, “a highly respected, international piping and drumming magazine” (Stein, Fall 2004, p.58).⁵⁴ In addition to news stories about current bagpiping events and interviews with notable figures of the bagpiping world, the *Voice* prints articles on a wide variety of educational topics (Rogers, Summer 1995, p.46).

⁵⁴ EUSPBA member Jim Davidson makes the interesting historical claim to be the person who named the *Voice* (Davidson, Fall 1996, p. 11).

Describing its educational directive, John Bottomley, the current editor as of December 2013, declaring that all aspects of Scottish bagpiping and drumming are equal partners in the eyes of the EUSPBA, announced a milestone in the Fall 2010 publication of the magazine, noting that the Fall 2010 issue marked the first time the *Voice* offered basic training articles in all four disciplines: piping, snare, midsection, and drum major, vowing to continue running all four disciplines in each issue (Bottomley, Fall 2010, p.6). Although several different editorial teams have worked on the *Voice*, with hundreds of different contributors through the years, this stated focus on education remains constant.

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION

Thanks to the focus on musical excellence mandated by the early leaders of the EUSPBA, Americans began travelling to compete at Scottish events as early as the late 1960s. American participation in Scottish competitions was not seen as unique, or even unexpected in Scotland, however, because pipers and pipe bands have travelled from around the world to compete in Scotland for many years, even though until recently Scottish bands and soloists have reigned supreme. The first pipe band from outside Scotland to receive a prize at the World Championship in Grade One was the City of Toronto Pipe Band, placing fifth in the World Championships at Inverness in 1966 (Berthoff, 2011, p.1). From 1966 onward, non-Scottish bands have gradually appeared more and more frequently in the prize lists, and the first band from outside Scotland to win the Grade I World Championship was the 78th Fraser Highlanders of Canada, in 1987.⁵⁵ In the United States, there were no Grade I bands until 1986 (Donaldson, 1986, p.116). The highest finish by an American band in Grade I to date has been earning a spot in the finals. In fact, no

⁵⁵ Retrieved July 19, 2013: <http://schoolofpiping.com/articles/world-champs.pdf>

American pipe band was mentioned in the prize list of any grade at the World Pipe Band Championship until 1974, when the Ogilvy Highlanders Pipe Band won the Grade III World Pipe Band Championship (Kee, personal interview, April 17, 2013). Since then, American bands have continued to climb the competitive ladder, achieving first place finishes in every grade except Grade I as of 2013.

In addition to pipe bands, many American solo competitors have achieved success in Scotland. As of 2013, four gold medals have been awarded to three American pipers: Michael Cusack, from Texas, who has won the Gold Medal at both the Argyllshire Gathering and the Northern Meeting, in addition to other top solo prizes; Michael Rodgers, of Maryland; and Donald MacPhee, formerly of Florida and Texas, who now resides in Scotland. Increasingly, numerous other American pipers have appeared in various solo prize lists at lesser events throughout Scotland. Growing American acceptance and success in international competition may be attributed to the emphasis placed on musical education by the EUSPBA.

AMERICAN PECULARITIES: VARIATIONS ON A SCOTTISH THEME

The piping scene in the Eastern United States, for all its attempts to model faithfully the current state of competitive bagpiping in Scotland, reveals certain specific differences from the home country. The EUSPBA diverges from the Scottish model in the following instances: presence and impact of Irish pipe bands; reception to and experience in ensemble judging; approach to the distinction between band and solo tradition; disparity in drumming competition; solo competitor grading; bagpiping in the armed forces; general teaching methods; and the prevalence of adult beginners. Numerous factors contribute to these differences, including vastly differing geographic distances, the relative age and historical connection of the GHB tradition, and the national social perception of education.

Irish-American Pipe Bands

The Irish-American culture is similar to, but in many ways distinct from, the Scottish-American culture. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that more than thirty-four million Americans, about eleven percent of the total population, claim Irish heritage, compared to approximately five million Scottish-Americans.⁵⁶ For most of the existence of the United States, Irish immigrants and Irish-Americans have been considered culturally separate and distinct from Scottish immigrants, Scottish-Americans, or even the Scotch-Irish. The historical distinction between these related but separate groups has manifested itself in modern parallel cultures that rarely actually intersect. Each group maintains its separate dance tradition, athletic tradition, and cultural history, which includes a similar but unique approach to festivals, gatherings, and holidays. One aspect common to the two cultures is the GHB. While Ireland, like Scotland, claims several different types of bagpipe, Irish-Americans also play the GHB, participating in pipe bands which follow a distinctly Scottish model, and it would be unfair to ignore the impact made on American bagpiping by the Irish pipe band subculture.

The Irish-American culture is largely centered in urban areas, especially Boston and New York, so Irish culture and therefore Irish pipe bands feature more prominently in the general public experience of that region. The state of Massachusetts claims an Irish-American population accounting for twenty-four percent of the State's total population, compared to only eleven percent nationwide.⁵⁷ In New York City, fifty out of the almost seventy pipe bands participating in the

⁵⁶ Retrieved, December 8, 2013:

http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_11_1YR_B04003&prodType=table

⁵⁷ Retrieved December 8, 2013:

http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/cb10-ff04.html

2014 St. Patrick's Day parade were Irish.⁵⁸ Many of these bands, which are recognized by their distinctive solid colour kilts in contrast to the Scottish bands wearing tartan, represent and are frequently sponsored by police and fire departments, as well as social and fraternal associations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians.⁵⁹

Piper Neil Conway explains the fascination and affection Irish-Americans hold for the GHB, suggesting that by playing and listening to the GHB, many Irish-Americans have reclaimed part of their heritage: "In doing so, the Irish romance with piping continues, by participation and appreciation, though often misunderstood by those who feel that GHBs are only part of Scottish Culture" (May 1992, p.15).

The instrument most often played at Irish events in the United States is the GHB, rather than any of the native Irish bagpipes, and Irish-Americans have embraced the Scottish instrument as their own, perhaps in much the same way that Lowland Scots adopted the GHB in the Nineteenth Century. Such a foreign adoption sometimes carries cultural complications and misunderstandings, and Conway goes on to discuss the misconceptions often facing Irish pipers and pipe bands:

Irish traditions go forward despite the common misunderstanding by some people that the cultural impact of pipe music, or for that matter any music, should be limited or enjoyed only by persons of any perceived national origin. This is evident in the struggle of the Irish to develop piping and pipe band playing, as well as the adoption of pipe bands by Irish Americans as a symbol of ancestral identity. (Conway, May 1992, p.15).

The Irish and Irish-American love for and adoption of the GHB and of Scottish-style pipe bands is similar to the adoption of the GHB into the Breton bagpiping culture. The Irish, like the Bretons, rightfully claim a bagpiping tradition, even though it is

⁵⁸ Retrieved May 20, 2014: <http://www.marching.com/events/new-york-city-st-patricks-day-parade/2014-nyc-st-patricks-day-parade-line-of-march.pdf>

⁵⁹ Not all Irish bands wear solid colour kilts, and recently, several Irish tartans, which are quickly becoming very popular, have been created. Furthermore, most, but not all, bands which wear solid colour kilts are Irish, but others claim no particular national identity.

different from that of Scotland, and Flood (1911, p.42) argues that Scotland probably owes much of its bagpiping culture to Ireland. Whether or not this is the case, exclusivity in music seems ludicrous to most cultural insiders, and Conway's comments must be understood in light of the fact that Irish-American pipe bands, like native Irish pipe bands, compete and are welcomed at Scottish Highland games, just as Scottish-American pipe bands compete and are welcomed at Irish Feiseanna, and many Scottish pipe bands march in St. Patrick's Day parades throughout the United States, if for no other reason than the performance fee.⁶⁰ Furthermore, in an effort to appeal to larger, more diverse audiences, Irish-American pipe bands play Scottish music, and most Scottish-American pipe bands at least acknowledge an Irish connection, maintaining a repertoire of "popular" Irish music.

One of the contributions Irish pipe bands have made to the Scottish bagpiping presence in the Eastern United States can be seen in the large number of pipe bands with Irish connections. Because of the large population of Irish-Americans in the New York and Boston area, much of the current vibrant bagpiping community around these major metropolitan areas developed through the efforts of Irish pipe bands. Piper Kevin Meagher recalls the labours of his family to build the presence of bagpiping in the New York area, especially among police and firefighters' pipe bands:

For those of you with long memories, think back to pre-1960 when bagpipers and bagpipe bands were not so well known. Contrast that now with the multitude of service-related bands you have today... This all started in 1960 when Pearse and his brother Tom Meagher agreed to commence chanter instruction for young police officers in the South Bronx (Spring 2005, p.65).

⁶⁰"Feiseanna" is the plural of "feis," the Irish term for festival. Retrieved January 17, 2014: (<http://www.nassauohfeis.com/about/history-of-the-feis/>)

The impact of Irish bands has not been uniformly significant in other parts of the Eastern United States, because Irish immigrants did not initially settle in most other areas to the extent they inhabited the northeast. Nevertheless, Irish-Americans from every part of the United States love the GHB, and have without doubt made a positive impact on the proliferation of bagpiping, especially in the Northeastern United States, where the Irish-American culture is most prevalent.

Ensemble Judging

Another area in which the United States differs from, and in the opinion of some, lags behind Scotland, is in ensemble judging of pipe bands. The concept of pipe band ensemble and the judging thereof seems to defy a precise definition, encompassing such components as musicality, creativity, inter-corps integration, and overall effect, resulting in a somewhat ambiguous “total package,” and this ambiguity is a cause for debate in Scotland (Cadden, 2003, pp.130-134). This ambiguity goes beyond debate in the Eastern United States, causing confusion in the EUSPBA (Humphrey, Fall 2007, p.31). The EUSPBA now requires ensemble judges at all EUSPBA-sanctioned band events, but piping judge George Bell’s remarks from 1996 indicate the initiative to incorporate ensemble judging began while trying to maintain a status quo between Scotland and the United States: “In our Association we don’t have ensemble judging. You must have it. To keep up with the times. Scotland has it, Canada has it...” (Wassman, Fall 1996, p.24). Ensemble judging has continued to experience a challenging introduction to the United States, and remains a subject of confusion, uncertainty, and contention, as evidenced by the large number of adjudicator meetings which continue to be held on this subject. Drummer Mark Humphrey (Fall 2007) complained, “There was a long period of time here in the U.S.A. where ensemble was not a focus of, or featured in the criteria of judging pipe

bands. There were actually those who believed it to be inappropriate. Some would say our bands are still behind the world scene because of our past lack of focus on pipe band ensemble” (p.31). Although an ensemble judge’s exam has been implemented, with judges now certified to judge ensemble, agreement on the way forward for this discipline continues to elude the EUSPBA.

Solo and Pipe Band Bagpiping

Another difference between Scotland and the United States is seen in the two countries’ treatment of solo versus pipe band piping. In Scotland, solo and pipe band competitions often appear to be manifestations of what could almost be considered two separate and distinct cultures, with solo competitions held throughout the Highlands, and pipe band competitions mostly confined to the Lowlands; whereas in the United States, solo and pipe band competitions are usually held at the same venue on the same day. This difference between national expressions of bagpiping has caused the development of distinct, unique national traditions peculiar to each country.

Unlike their Scottish counterparts, most American solo competitors also play in and compete with a pipe band. This occurs at least in part as a matter of practicality; there are not enough venues in the United States, nor is the community large enough, to support enough events for two separate competition traditions. Additionally, the vast distances between events makes separate travel for two different traditions impractical. For these reasons, most Highland games in the United States offer both solo and pipe band events. However, like Scotland, there are far more band members than there are solo competitors, perhaps because of the camaraderie inherent in a pipe band (Conway, personal correspondence, December 3, 2013).

One particular event that is staged at almost every Highland games in North America is the “massed bands.” This activity, usually performed twice, first at the official opening ceremony of the games, typically around lunch time, and second at the closing ceremonies at the end of the day, was apparently instituted by the St. Andrew’s Society of San Francisco, on November 28, 1867 (Donaldson, 1986, p.33). In addition to almost every Highland games in the United States, the “massed bands” is an activity which is now performed at almost every pipe band competition in Scotland, revealing a case of what could be termed “reverse cultural transmission,” where the expatriate or immigrant experience influences the original culture. This is such a pervasive event at modern Scottish pipe band events, that one of the high points of participation in the World Pipe Band Championships is the “massed bands” at the end of the afternoon’s events. In contrast, “massed bands” are practically nonexistent events in the Highlands of Scotland, because, as strictly solo venues, there simply are no bands to mass.

Differences in the Drumming Community

Another difference between Scotland and the United States may be found in the treatment of Scottish drumming, in performance practice, and as a competitive event, and this is particularly true of bass and tenor drummers (Schmid, Fall 1997, p.8). Admittedly, development of tenor and bass drumming, sometimes known as the “mid-section” of pipe bands in the United States, lags behind Scotland and Canada, because the innovations developed in those countries, such as pitched tenor drums, along with intricately choreographed flourishing routines, have not yet been widely taught in the United States. The “mid-section” is often an afterthought within the development of the typical American pipe band, with beginning GHB students frequently relegated to the tenor drum until they gain proficiency in the GHB.

Additionally, conditions for solo drumming competition in the United States lag behind Scotland. RSPBA drumming judge Alastair Aitken notes disparate characteristics between the Scottish and American approach to competition: "...[T]he solo drumming competition was quite different to those in Scotland as they were held in the open air and the timings of the performances were very flexible, in many cases the drummer having to wait until his or her piper was available. These are not the ideal conditions for effective preparations" (Aitken, Fall 2003, p.29). Aitken's remarks reveal an ongoing disparity between bagpipers and drummers. Drummers are required to have a piper accompany them, so are usually at the mercy of the pipers, with the drummer's event often an afterthought for the piping competitor. To a great extent, drummers maintain a second class position in importance regarding solo competition. This brings up an additional problem within the larger community.

Drums have been a part of Scottish bagpiping community since the 1850s, when the first pipe bands were formed. However, some suggest they do not carry the same cultural weight as the GHB, because, although drums are an integral and indispensable component of a pipe band, they do not possess the same romantic connections as the GHB for most cultural insiders (Cadden, 2003, p.122). Furthermore, drums as a separate musical art form have their own diverse venues and idioms, which excite and interest drummers, and often seem to appeal more to them than does the Scottish manifestation of the instrument.

There is no shortage of drummers in the United States, but enticing those drummers to become a part of a pipe band is another matter. James Stack, former EUSPBA president, decries the lack of drummers in the EUSPBA, lamenting the challenge of trying to entice drummers to join the pipe band community: "...[T]his issue... ...continues to be a thorn in the side of the American pipe band scene... ...if

we are to continue to improve the quality and quantity of the pipe bands in our Association, a collective and coordinated effort is required particularly at the branch level of this Association” (Stack, Summer 1998, p.5). Stack’s call for a “collective and coordinated effort” has yet to bear fruit. Despite dedicated educational opportunities reaching back more than twenty years for drummers to learn about the Scottish idiom, recruitment remains an unsolved problem (Beadle, Summer 1996, p.44).

Another perceived problem with drummers concerns their disinterest in solo competition. Tenor and bass drumming judge Bob Meade observed an alarming decline in solo drumming competition participation as early as 1996, noting this decline despite a significant increase in the number of Highland games, as well as in the number of pipe bands participating in them, warning that unless the trend changes, Highland games organizers would simply cancel events due to lack of participation (Fall 1996, p.16).

Meade (Fall 1996) discusses the possible reasons for the decline in drumming competitors, the first being that many drummers are unable to secure a bagpiper to play for them in competition: “They can’t find one piper out of their band to support them in their effort to improve” (p.17). Drummers are required to accompany GHB music in competitive events, rather than playing a solo drum salute, but as Meade also notes, EUSPBA rules allow the drumming competitor to use recorded music in place of a live bagpiper (Fall 1996, p.17). Meade also found evidence of apathy on the part of the drummers. He found that many of them think they are, “... [T]he best they can be and are not in need of receiving confirmation. Or they are just not in the mood (I actually had four drummers make this comment at three consecutive Games in 1994)” (Fall 1996, p.17). Meade’s comment reveals the biggest difference

between most bagpipers and drummers. Bagpipers seem to always be “in the mood” to compete against anyone, regardless of their own ability level. Is there something about the genetic makeup of people who take up the GHB that makes them inherently more competitive than those who fancy the drum? A casual stroll around the band tents at any major Highland games, observing the intensity with which the various drum corps make preparations for the pipe band competition will quickly dispel the notion that drummers lack a competitive spirit. Where, therefore, does this apparent apathy toward solo competition derive?

Historically, the GHB began as a solo instrument, and when competition was introduced into the culture, it initially came in the form of solo competition. The drum, on the other hand, has never been considered a solo instrument in the pipe band community. Furthermore, solo drumming competition, which requires a GHB for accompaniment, reinforces the notion that the drum is an ensemble instrument. Even band names, whether “pipe band,” or “pipes and drums” indicates the ensemble, and subordinate, position of the drums.⁶¹ In performance, notwithstanding the rare novelty of a solo or drum corps salute, drummers operate exclusively as a unit within the pipe band ensemble, and it is this ensemble mindset that drives drummer’s competitive motivation, as drumming judge Jon Quigg observes: “...some that are REALLY into it go for the solos. The rest get their fix from the considerable amount of time that goes into the full corps production” (personal correspondence, January 19, 2014). Furthermore, the excitement of playing in a corps cannot be equaled in a solo experience, as described by drumming judge Ed Best: “I get a bigger high from playing in a really good drum corps than from being a soloist. No matter how good I am or how many prizes I get, it can never replace the

⁶¹ The sole exception to this could be seen in the now defunct Gordon Highlanders pipe band, which was referred to as the “Drums and Pipes” even though the band marched in traditional formation with the pipes in front.

dynamics and fullness of a good corps” (personal correspondence, January 19, 2014). Bearing this in mind, the lack of interest in solo drumming competition becomes an interesting observation, rather than a point of concern.

Military Bagpiping

American bagpiping also differs from the Scottish and Canadian models in that there is no longstanding bagpiping tradition in the United States armed forces, whereas the presence of bagpiping in the British and Canadian military has strongly affected the culture in those countries. In Scotland and Canada, the military has traditionally provided a resource for teaching, and for the development of large numbers of bagpipers, which, in turn, has served to populate the ranks of civilian pipe bands and solo competitions, whereas the absence of bagpiping in the United States military means there is one less conduit for the flow of bagpipers into the general population.

The GHB has maintained a martial presence since Roman times. With the raising of Scottish regiments for the British army, this presence assumed an imperial mandate. The British army has remained one of the primary patrons of bagpiping from the time of the French and Indian War, or Seven Years War, to the present day. With the creation of the pipe band, this connection to the British military was sealed. The British Empire sent its Scottish soldiers and their music to colonies around the world (Hermansson, 2003, p.319). However, the United States was not a British possession, so a shared military influence and connection largely does not exist in the United States. There have been, nevertheless, occasional American military connections with the GHB. The GHB enhances military functions, so isolated units in the United States military have availed themselves of the sound of the GHB from time to time, although there is no established tradition of bagpiping in the United

States military as there is in the British armed forces. Moreover, there is no apparent documentation to suggest that the GHB was played by American units during the Revolutionary War, the American Civil War, or, in fact at any time by Americans in combat.

While there is admittedly no longstanding tradition of bagpiping in the United States military, isolated pipe bands are scattered in almost every branch of the services. The first official American military pipe band, the U.S. 6th Army Pipe Band, was founded in 1948 by General Mark Clark, of Anzio fame, according to piper Ozzie Reid, the last member of the band.⁶² According to William McErlean (Summer 2004), former Drum Sergeant of the band, Colonel Paul Goode commanded the 6th Army Pipe Band, stationed at the Presidio in San Francisco, California until 1959 (pp.41-43). The 191st Army Band, the “Band of the Wild West,” a United States Army Reserve unit currently based in Camp Parks, California, retains bagpipers as part of the band, and traces its lineage to the 6th Army Pipe Band.⁶³ Upon his retirement from the United States Army in 1955, General Clark became President of The Citadel, the military college of Charleston, South Carolina, where he sponsored the regimental pipe band.⁶⁴

Another military pipe band, the U.S. Air Force Reserve Pipe Band, based at Robins Air Force Base, Georgia, traces its history to the U. S. Air Force Pipe Band of the 1960s, and currently serves as one of only two active-duty pipe bands in the United States armed forces (Allen, Fall 2011, p.23).

Finally, the most recently created military affiliated pipe band is “Costello’s Own” Pipe Band, established as the only active duty pipe band in the U.S. Army, by

⁶² Retrieved January 17, 2014: <http://www.stewarttartan.com/read-me/>

⁶³ Retrieved December 5, 2013: <http://www.music.army.mil/organizations/pages/default.asp?unit=191AB>

⁶⁴ Retrieved December 5, 2013: <http://www.citadel.edu/root/band-pipes>

Major General David D. Halverson of the U.S. Army Fires Center of Excellence at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and named in honour of Lieutenant General John “Jack” Costello, a former commander of the air defense school at Fort Bliss, Texas, and a major advocate of piping in the U.S. Army (Gunther, Spring 2012, p.12).

Three other pipe bands are currently affiliated with the United States military. The first is the U.S. Coast Guard Pipe Band, founded in 2001 by Chief Warrant Officer Kevin Gilheany (Francis, Fall 2005, p.50). This band, though not an official part of the United States Coast Guard, is nevertheless recognized by the Coast Guard as an affiliated organization.⁶⁵ The remaining two pipe bands are affiliated with two of the United States military academies. The first is the West Point Pipes and Drums, founded in 1973.⁶⁶ The second is the U.S. Naval Academy Pipes and Drums, founded in 1996.⁶⁷ The Naval Academy is particularly proud of their pipe band because John Paul Jones, known as “The Father of the United States Navy,” was Scottish. Pipe bands affiliated with the military academies are recognized clubs, and enjoy the moral support of the students as well as the academy administration. However, there does not appear to be any interest on the part of the United States Department of Defense to increase the presence of bagpiping in the United States military.

Differences in Teaching Styles

A subtle national difference between Scotland and the United States lies in the approach to teaching. Teaching methods naturally differ from one teacher to the next, but some differences have also been observed as national trends. Donald Lindsay, competitor, teacher, and judge, compares the teaching style of Canadian

⁶⁵ Retrieved July 1, 2011: <http://www.uscgpipeband.org/history.php>

⁶⁶ Retrieved January 17, 2014: <http://www.usma.edu/pipes/SitePages/About.aspx>

⁶⁷ Retrieved January 17, 2014: <http://www.usna.edu/Pipes/HistoryPD.html>

teacher Jim McGillivray with that of Scottish teacher Norman Gillies, contrasting McGillivray's analytical approach with Gillies' "teach by example" style:

Some people are stunned when they sit down with Norman Gillies and he starts firing out the tunes and tells them to start playing them. Those same people welcome Jim McGillivray holding their hand and saying, 'now let's take a closer look at the G gracenote.' ...the combination of modeling and breaking things down into smaller, digestible pieces of learning seems to work well (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Summer 1999, p.28).

The main difference in approach to teaching between Scottish and American teachers, however, appears to be in detail rather than general content. Whereas Scottish teachers tend to initially prefer a rote teaching style, American and Canadian teachers seem to advocate a more analytical approach. With minor variations, all teachers appear to teach using some variation of either the "Exercises First" method or the "College of Piping" method, both of which are discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

Adult Beginners

The most remarkable contrast between American and Scottish models is seen in the two countries' approach to adult beginners. Very few Scots take up the GHB as adults, while the adult beginner phenomenon in the United States is wildly popular (McIntosh, Summer, 1995, p.25). Teacher, judge, and Gold Medalist Alasdair Gillies emphasizes the peculiarity of adult beginners in the United States: "...[Y]ou could have anyone at the school from seven to seventy. We don't have that in Scotland. I don't think many people say, in their thirties or forties, would even dream of starting in Scotland, where it's quite common to have that at a summer school [in the United States]" (Balderose, Summer 1997, p.27). Although it may be considered unusual, teaching adult beginners is neither unheard of nor a recent phenomenon in Scotland. Ronald Morrison recalls classes taught by John MacDonald of Inverness in

the early years of the Twentieth Century: “When I was a young boy, John MacDonald had just begun to come to teach in South Uist. He told me that in the first class he had in Daliburgh School, that there were 80 in his class! He said that the eldest was 60 years of age, and the youngest was about 12” (Woolard, Winter 2002, p.23). American adult learners continue to positively impact the American bagpiping community. It remains to be seen whether the adult learner phenomenon will take hold in Scotland. Adult learners’ motivations are discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association from its inception to the end of 2013. I highlighted several innovative initiatives devised by the leaders of the EUSPBA. These visionary programs include: the creation of competition sanctioning procedures for Highland games; development of a certification program of proficiency exams; judges’ exams and seminars; standardized score sheets; and a grading system for amateur solo competitors.

Additionally, I revealed several differences between Scottish procedural models and American designs. While the United States attempts to present a faithful emulation of Scottish music, the differences between events held in the United States and Scotland are often the result of organizational innovations made by the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association. Many of these innovations have in turn been copied by other countries, including Scotland. These differences, admittedly of varying significance, comprised discussion of: Irish pipe bands; ensemble judging; different outlooks on band and solo tradition; drumming competition; solo competitor grading; bagpiping in the Armed Forces; general teaching methods; and the prevalence of adult beginners.

This chapter, primarily a summary of the inception, innovations and peculiarities of the EUSPBA, resulted mostly in observations and confirmations, rather than new discoveries. As a forty-year insider to a fifty-year-old organization, I assert that my long-term, in-depth association with the EUSPBA has provided me with a fairly accurate general perspective of its strengths and weaknesses, and although I had never studied the EUSPBA in detail, I was not surprised by most of my findings. My search was not completely void of discovery, however. One of the surprising significant findings I made concerned the number of times the Grade IV Piobaireachd rule has been changed. I have been personally involved in this argument for several years because I have a large number of students who are at the Grade IV level, and like any teacher, I want what I think is best for my students. The discussions and subsequent changes have been, and continue to be, a source of frustration for my students and myself, as well as for other teachers and their students. However, in the course of my review of this issue, my perspective on the entire rules development process changed, not only about the Grade IV piobaireachd rule, but about the entire EUSPBA legislative process. Because of the short time most issues are publicly discussed before being sent to committees for further consideration, one often gets the impression that the concerns of the membership are glossed over by those who dictate policy. Actually charting the progress of this rule while studying the volume of material that has been written concerning it, I now contend that many decisions which I hitherto thought were often made capriciously, were in fact often made with much more thought than I previously supposed. This is not to say I necessarily agree with the conclusions or the outcomes, but at least I now realize that these were reasoned decisions.

In studying innovations such as the “stages, not ages” concept of competitor grading, I gained a new, deeper respect for the vision and innovation of the founding members of the EUSPBA. Their designs and ideas did not all bear fruit, nor did the successful ones all go precisely according to plan, but their willingness to take risks, to initiate untested policies because they thought it best for the future of bagpiping, revealed a courage that might have made them a fortune if they had decided to turn bagpiping into a business.

In terms of concrete, original conclusions, I observed a major difference between the way bagpipers and drummers view solo competition. Unlike bagpipers, very few drummers avail themselves of solo competitive opportunities. Until I studied this phenomenon in greater depth, lack of competitive presence on the part of drummers worried me because I have always viewed competition as a primary indicator of the community’s health. As a result of my studies, I am prepared to infer that drummers do not compete in solo events for one primary reason: while the GHB has always been a solo instrument, even after the creation of pipe bands, the drum has never been a solo instrument in the Scottish culture. As such, drummers in general, though often wildly competitive as band members or as drummers within a corps, usually have no interest whatsoever in competing in solo events. My interpretation of these findings falls short of a concrete conclusion, and more research is needed to further understand the perception of drummers toward competition.

The Eastern United States Pipe Band Association covers the largest geographical area of any pipe band association and, because it includes both pipe bands and solo competitors, claims to be the largest in membership count as well (Crawford, Spring 2010, p.18). As the Scottish immigrant population of the Eastern

United States decreases relative to the overall population, and as the Scottish-American population moves farther away in time from its Scottish ancestry, it remains to be seen whether the bagpiping community will grow, bolstered by non-Scottish participants who take up the GHB for reasons other than cultural heritage. This question will be addressed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV: THE FUTURE: OPPORTUNITIES AND OBSTACLES

This chapter examines opportunities for the future of bagpiping in the Eastern United States, including potential growth and stability of environments. Also examined are: obstacles to transmission and growth; misconceptions about the culture; cultural and societal prejudices; and directional growth trends.

On a worldwide scale, composition, one indicator of the musical health of GHB music, appears to be flourishing. The latest (5th) edition of *An Encyclopedia of Tunes for the Great Highland Bagpipe*, lists over 22,300 tunes from 352 books (Glendinning, P., Summer 2004, p.51). The database of tunes collected by piper and historian Jim Coldren, author of *The Bagpipe Music Index*, first published in 1966 with 2450 tune listings, had grown to over 48,000 entries by 2000 (Frank, Summer 2000, p.31). In the larger context of general music published worldwide, these figures are not enormous, but the fact composers still write for the GHB reveals an active culture. Additionally, the professional music recording industry, previously inaccessible to the GHB, now sees the GHB as an increasingly marketable product. Teacher and judge Nancy Tunncliffe suggests that GHB music is becoming more popular because the internet has made it much more accessible (Fall 2003, p.21). Advances in desktop recording and publishing technology enhance the easy access to which Tunncliffe refers, which, in addition to commercial recordings produced by major record labels, enables numerous bagpipers and pipe bands to produce their own independent recordings.

RECRUITING METHODS

Recruiting new members into a community is vital to the continued life of that community, because without a supply of new members, the community will inevitably shrink and eventually die. However, insiders often see this task as a major

problem and challenge to growth. Most pipe bands in the United States struggle with numbers at some point, and the community's continued growth depends on understanding effective recruiting methods. This section discusses successful recruiting methods employed by teachers and other insiders.

An active, vibrant, and successful organization naturally draws new members. As an example, the Grade I LA Scots has no difficulty recruiting new members, although the band does not accept everyone who applies (Connor and McGonigal, Spring, 1996, p.22). Furthermore, Pipe Major Scott MacDonald says his organization never raids other bands for members, and while he and other band members serve as instructors to other Grade IV and Grade III bands, the LA Scots does not have a formal "farm system" (Connor and McGonigal, Spring, 1996, p.22). The practice of "raiding" other pipe bands presents an ethical question beyond the scope of this paper.

Unlike the LA Scots, many higher-grade pipe bands do employ a "farm system" of lower-grade and juvenile "feeder bands." "Farm systems" typically work well when they are well managed, and the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band has established a particularly successful organization, described in Chapter VII. The Manchester, New Hampshire, Pipe Band, one of the oldest bands in the United States, enjoys an annual influx into their Grade V band of new students who graduate from the band's tutoring program, which was established many years ago by Pipe Major (PM) Emeritus Charles Murdoch (Caudill, Winter 2001, p.67).⁶⁸ Although many pipe bands in the United States go so far as to offer free tuition as a recruiting tool, a growing opinion exists, in the United States, at least, that good tuition is worth

⁶⁸ "PM" is an abbreviation for "Pipe Major," the customary title of a pipe band's musical director.

paying for. The concept of “free lessons” largely appears to be in its twilight in the United States.

If some see recruiting as a challenge, others have potential students thrust upon them. Hermansson (2003) relates the story of his introduction to the bagpiping world, when he went into a GHB shop in Edinburgh, Scotland, to purchase a toy GHB:

I said, “I would like to buy one of those bagpipes, one of the small ones.” He looks at me, it was Gordon Stobo himself, and he says, “Well, they are not worth anything. You cannot play them. Would it not be something to learn to play?” And in my total bewilderment I said yes, and ten minutes later I sat in a back room and got my first lesson from a piper in the Edinburgh Police Pipe Band (p.221).

This chance meeting eventually led to Hermansson’s Ph.D. in music.

Piper Robert Forbes, who joined the Royal Air Force in 1935, was ordered to form a pipe band at the Royal Air Force Training College at RAF Cranwell: “Here I am, a kid of sixteen in the middle of Lincolnshire being told to form a pipe band with no pipers available and having no prior teaching experience. Looking back at it from a distance of 50 years, I just don’t know how that band came into being, but somehow it did” (1987, p.44).

While not everyone has the luxury of working in a GHB shop in Edinburgh, Scotland, or the mandate of orders from one’s wing commander, the sentiment expressed in these stories resonates with all teachers and potential students. Audience members often approach performers following a performance, asking various questions about the GHB. Frequently, the audience member will ask how they can learn how to play the GHB. Even if the inquirer does not specifically ask, a bagpiper who sees himself as a recruiter will perceive these questions as the yearnings of a potential student, and treat them as such. An intuitive piper will always offer an invitation to learn at the conclusion of a conversation such as this.

Members of the Scottish community often do not think of learning to play the GHB unless some outside suggestion awakens the idea in their mind.

This phenomenon may be seen in the result of a newspaper advertising campaign developed by the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band program. Jack Lee describes the response to an ad the band placed in the local paper: “The phone started ringing, and after that ad we had almost 20 kids. We did it again this year and we had another 20 kids respond. A lot of them are brothers or sisters of Highland dancers, who were accustomed to going to the Highland Games, and were enthused about piping and drumming” (Rogers and McGonigal, Summer 1998, p.30). That many of the children who responded to these newspaper ads were already connected to the Scottish community leads one to wonder why those students had not pursued lessons prior to the placement of the ads. Having examined students’ learning motivations, of which there are a variety, one possible conclusion is that the students who answered the ad were already primed for lessons, and simply needed someone or something, in this case the newspaper ad, to suggest the idea of lessons.

OBSTACLES TO TRANSMISSION

Few obstacles to the transmission of bagpiping exist in the United States, and most of these are being eradicated. These obstacles include: financial limitations; lack of a longitudinal tradition; enormous geographic distances spanning the United States; and lack of locally available teachers.

Financial restrictions present the first obstacle to cultural transmission. For instance, uniforms, lessons, and travel to competitions tax the resources of individuals and bands. In the United States, as in every developed country, personal family budgets are often stretched thin, making recreational choices contingent upon funding. As a recreational pursuit, bagpiping is no exception to this fact. Pipe bands

especially often lack funding to accomplish their competitive goals. One possible source, however, for financial support lies in sponsorships. Piper Mark O'Donnell suggests sponsorships can offer the financial support for a band to meet its goals, while maintaining a sense of dignity within the art form: "This should not be viewed as the commercialization of an art form that we all love. Corporate sponsorship should be done in a way that is both tasteful and respectful of your organization. Who wants their bass drum looking like an Indy stock car?" (Winter 1997, p.12). The LA Scots understands the concept of creative funding. Developing merchandise to market at performances and competitions, the band sells 300-400 T-shirts a year at the Highland games they attend (Connor and McGonigal, Spring 1996, p.21).

Performances provide the main source of funding for pipe band activities, with parades the principal performance type, and most bands participate in parades at some point in their existence. Steven Brownlee, Pipe Major of the Kilts of Many Colours Pipe Band of New Orleans, Louisiana, describes his band's commitment to eight to ten parades during the Mardi Gras parade season: "The majority of our funding comes from parades, but our first goal is to provide the best music we can for our audiences" (personal interview, January 5, 2014). Brownlee's band does not compete, but many of the members participate in solo competition.

Another challenge to American bagpiping, caused by the relatively short time the culture has been solidly placed in the United States, is a lack of momentum affecting many aspects of bagpiping, from international competitive success, to name recognition and prestige in American competitive events, especially in comparison to major Scottish events such as the Gold Medal, the Silver Chanter, and the World Pipe Band Championships, which, in addition to their mystique as Mecca-like destinations for bagpipers, have the benefit of years of cultural tradition to enhance

their prestige. Piper Vince Janoski describes the difficulty faced by American events in their efforts to establish a competition tradition: “In the pockets of Scottish immigration in North America, that cultural history has only recently spawned the competitions that have begun to form the roots of an American piping tradition” (Winter 2005, p.22). The United States faces an uphill battle to build annual events approaching the renown and prestige of the Northern Meeting or the Argyllshire Gathering, events with two hundred years of history. Lack of financial foundation presents an additional drawback to most events, and this foundation comes only with time. Most Highland games depend on audience participation for their continued survival, and one day of bad weather can spell disaster for most Highland games in the United States.

Challenges of Geographic Distance

One of the most noticeable differences between the American and Scottish bagpiping experience is a matter of simple geography: the vast distance most competitors travel to attend American events. Distance has traditionally influenced the development of bagpiping in the United States, manifesting itself in lack of available local teachers, lack of contact from one region to another, and restrictions in choices of attendance at Highland games.

Practical modes of transportation differ between Scotland and the United States. This recollection of going around the Highland games in Scotland illustrates that difference:

We usually travelled by train on this trip, with a family railpass. I grew up listening to Seumas MacNeill’s stories about pipers going around the games by train, and for most venues it’s a great way to travel. I did ride to some of the Games by car with other pipers, which makes the trip more fun, but remember to chip in for the gas (which is about \$4.00 per gallon) (Regan, Summer 1996, p.19).

Although the convenience of train travel in Scotland has diminished, public transportation, whether train or bus, remains a viable mode of transportation to most competition venues. Travelling by public transportation to competitions in the United States would be impossible, because the system in the United States is not practical for such trips. Unlike most Scottish Highland games, which are held within reasonable walking distance of a bus or train route, American Highland games are usually miles away from a bus stop, and even further from a train line. Other than for commuters in the major population centers of the Northeast, the automobile provides the standard mode of local or regional travel in the United States. The long distances involved in most interstate journeys even makes travel by car prohibitive to many events, and limits an American competitor's ability to attend more distant competitions. The distance from the northeastern-most to southwestern-most Highland games in the EUSPBA, Topsham, Maine, to San Antonio, Texas, is 2173 miles, or 32 hours by car.⁶⁹ Put in perspective, this is six times the distance from Carlisle in the north of England to John 'O Groats, the northern-most point in Scotland. Figure IV-A shows an outline of Scotland superimposed over the Eastern United States.

⁶⁹ Retrieved February 20, 2012: <http://maps.google.com>



Figure IV-A: Area of Scotland relative to area of the Eastern United States.⁷⁰

Competitor Stuart Mowbray describes the challenges of these excessive distances:

In order to qualify for the Championship Supreme as it is designed (Grade I), I would have to travel 4500 miles, round trip. In order to attend the required games with any comfort, I would have to take five travelling days out of work and two airplane trips. Going broke attending Highland games in far off states is not fun. (Mowbray, May 1991, p.4).

In the example Mowbray uses he overstates his case somewhat, because the time required to attend the Stone Mountain games, travelling by air from New York, would only be three days, leaving Friday, and returning Sunday, with the competition held on Saturday. However, the total cost, including air fare, car hire, and hotel, would be approximately \$700 or £400, compared to a piper travelling from Glasgow to Halkirk, which, even considering the high cost of petrol and an overnight stay in

⁷⁰ This map was created on: <http://www.mapfrappe.com> and is available at: <http://mapfrappe.com/?show=26364>

Halkirk, would be approximately \$220 or £125.⁷¹ These figures are, of course, rough approximations, but they give a reasonable indication of the relative cost to attend an event.⁷²

Teacher and judge George Bell confirms distance plays a part in the development of bagpiping in the United States. He discusses the challenge of travel to band practice, and blames distance as one of the main obstacles inhibiting the development of higher-grade pipe bands: "...[I]t's because of our country here, the tremendous distances just to make a performance or to go to band practice. Some people travel 2 and 3 hours just to get to band practice, one way. So it's unfair to ask them to commit to band practices, 2 and 3 nights a week, it's just impossible." (Wassman, Fall 1996, p.24). The geographic challenges of attending band practice often involves travel, especially at higher competitive levels, and even more so for bands contemplating travel to compete in Scotland. Bagpiper Robert Caudill gives several examples of the travel burdens taken on by serious competitors:

One student of Lead Drummer Gordon Bell's, however, flew from Minnesota to be a part of the band. Most Manchester members come from within a radius of about 75 miles. Bergen Irish and Manchester Regional members typically come as far as 60 miles. Members travel somewhat further to get to Ulster Scottish rehearsals with some coming as far as 160 miles (Caudill, Winter 2001, p.65).

To put distance again into perspective, the distance from Glasgow to Inverness is 169 miles.⁷³

If travel to regional competitions and local band practices is such a challenge, attendance at Scottish competitions is even more so. In an interview with reporter

⁷¹ These figures represent estimates based on average airfare and gasoline prices as of January 2014.

⁷² At 272 miles, Halkirk is one of the most distant event locations from Glasgow. The distance from Altamont, New York, where the Capitol District Games are held, to Stone Mountain, Georgia, is 1005 miles.

⁷³ Retrieved August 6, 2013: <http://maps.google.com>

Mary Carillo, Glen and Blair Brown discuss the financial commitment of taking a pipe band to Scotland:

GB: I would like to see the Worlds move to North America so that the North American bands don't have to spend 130-140 thousand dollars to come to this event.

MC: Is that really what it takes?

GB: Yeah.

BB: The flights, the accommodation, the transportation when you get here... (Carillo, 2012, unpaginated).

To confirm this, in 2006, Steel Thistle Youth Pipe Band, a juvenile pipe band, competed at the World Pipe Band Championships. Including parents and siblings, sixty-one people participated in the trip. The total cost for seventeen days in Scotland was approximately \$150,000. Many American pipers who have travelled to Scotland to compete wonder, if the locations were reversed, how many of their Scottish counterparts would be willing to make the same sacrifice of time and money. Extensive distances are the underlying cause of the second obstacle to transmission, which is a lack of available, qualified teachers.

Lack of Available Teachers

One of the biggest obstacles to good instruction in the United States is the lack of locally available, qualified teachers. This dearth comes in part from lack of a long-term tradition of teaching in the United States. As mentioned in Chapter II, the current manifestation of bagpiping in the United States has only been in place since the years following the Second World War, which has resulted in a shallow teaching tradition. As a result, bagpiping has not saturated the country. The quality and depth of leadership and commitment in the United States piping community varies from city to city within a state, and from one state to another. Although a bagpiping community exists to some degree in most major cities, even large population centers vary in strength. Dougal MacNeill reveals that this situation is not exclusive to the

United States, pointing out leadership and commitment differences between Glasgow and Edinburgh: “Glasgow had a lot of great pipers. Whereas in Edinburgh it was a bit different. Tommy [Pearston] started a class in Edinburgh, but the interesting thing is he could not get [teachers] to reliably turn up at that class in Edinburgh. In Glasgow it would have been easy. And Edinburgh is a bit like that” (personal interview, March, 3, 2011). The present lack of available, qualified teachers is in part due to the lack of an intentional teacher training program. As described in Chapter VI, practically all GHB teachers are self-taught teachers. Even those instructors who are teachers by profession, and there are many, have had to develop their own teaching methods specifically for the GHB, because as of February 2014, there appears to be only one formal bagpipe teacher training program, an option created in 2011 within the music education degree program at Edinboro University of Pennsylvania. The Institute of Piping offers a teacher certification program, but currently does not offer a dedicated training program to accompany the certification (McIntosh, Winter 1997, p.54). This lack of formal or even purposeful teacher training results in a lack of consistency in teaching, both within the individual studio, and in general throughout the worldwide bagpiping community. Almost all teachers appear to teach the way they were taught, modeling the practices of their own teachers, for better or worse. Often, only after many years of teaching does a typical GHB teacher begin to modify his own teaching practices to benefit his students.

Another byproduct of the lack of purposeful teacher training appears as a contributing factor in the absence of longitudinal teaching in the United States. Students typically get a few months, or in some cases a few years of instruction, and are then left to take care of themselves. This does not stem from a shortage of master pipers, but rather from a shortage of master teachers.

Although evident in Scotland to a small degree, scarcity of available competent instruction in the United States has led to poor playing, as James McIntosh attests: “While outstanding teachers are available... ..there are also people out there offering instruction who lack the talent and skills... Certainly, a beginner does not need a master teacher. But a minimally competent one is essential if our beginner is to progress...” (Winter 1997, p.54). Teacher and judge John Recknagel supports McIntosh’s comments, encouraging all competent pipers to consider teaching: “One doesn’t have to be an expert piper to teach. Great pipers don’t always make the best teachers, nor are good teachers necessarily great players. Teaching piping to a beginner can be an eye opening experience as well as a way to improve one’s own playing” (1991, p.12).

In an effort to bolster teacher competence in the United States, the EUSPBA has, from time to time, attempted to set up a teacher training and certification program (McMullin, Spring 2001, p.5). As of March 2014, such a course has not been presented, nor is there any dedicated formal teacher training course available in the United States other than the Edinboro University of Pennsylvania degree program. Until such time as teacher training becomes a priority in the bagpiping culture, expansion and musical development will remain random and sporadic, directed only by individuals who rise to the challenge of educational leadership.

Misinformation and Misconceptions

The wide range of misinformation and misconceptions surrounding the GHB presents another obstacle to cultural expansion (Collinson, 1975, p.xiv). Perhaps the biggest and potentially most damaging misconception about the GHB is its difficulty relative to other musical instruments. Researcher Emily Donaldson (1986) states: “The GHB has been called the most difficult of the wind instruments to play” (p.54).

This falsehood plays throughout the world of music. The humorous response offered by Seumas MacNeill describes this as, "...a vicious lie perpetrated by piano teachers" (MacNeill, 1973, audio recording). However, while the GHB admittedly presents several unusual learning challenges, such as: a certain minimum physical strength required to power the instrument; the requirement for memorization of all music played; and the intricate and precise nature of the embellishments, many aspects make it easier to learn than many other instruments, such as: having only nine notes; no alternate fingering; no rests; no dynamic considerations; and no key changes.⁷⁴

Donaldson makes several erroneous statements concerning the GHB. Having first frightened the potential student with a general alarm about the difficulty of the instrument, relative to the oboe, for instance, she next uses descriptors such as: "When a piper takes a breath, he applies slight pressure to the bag – just letting his arm gently press the bag toward his body – to maintain the essential flow of air." (1986, p.98) The idea that the GHB takes "slight pressure" created by the piper "letting his arm gently press the bag" would be laughed at by most bagpipers, and especially by most beginners. Although superhuman strength is not needed, and with a weak reed even a small child can play a GHB, the bag nevertheless requires considerable pressure and control. Bag pressure admittedly presents a considerable challenge, but underestimation can be as off-putting as overstatement.

Sometimes writers present archaic practice as a rule, leading to more misunderstanding. Concerning harmonies, Collinson (1966) states: "The notes of the GHBs are never intended to be sounded together in harmony, as are wind instruments in an orchestra. The GHB is a solo, or at least a unison, melodic instrument which is

⁷⁴ There are limited examples of alternate fingering of notes in piobaireachd, and a very limited ability to play in different keys, but in practice, these are incidental to learning to play the GHB. Additionally, Breton bagpiping incorporates alternate fingering.

only required to harmonize to the sound of its own drones” (p.99). When Collinson wrote this, the common practice of GHB music as played in pipe bands was to play almost exclusively in unison. Harmonies were very simple. Referred to as “seconds,” these harmonies essentially mimicked the melody at an interval of a third below the melody. The rhythm in the harmony was almost always an exact duplicate of the melody. This type of simple harmony is still heard, and is often effective, but for many years it has not been the exclusive type of harmony used in GHBs. Furthermore, although Collinson’s assertion that the GHB was a solo instrument is historically correct, this is no longer the case. As pipers have studied harmony, more and more bands have developed intricate, complicated harmonies (MacKay, personal interview, February 24, 2012). Since the late 1990s, multiple voices in contrapuntal harmony have been heard increasingly even from lower grade pipe bands. As to the original design and intent of the instrument, this provides an example that creativity sometimes changes common practice.

Piobaireachd, the so called classical music of the GHB, is often misrepresented by pipers and non-pipers alike. Describing piobaireachd, Donaldson states, “The human voice is the only instrument that can transmit the nuances of expression in a tune with any success” (1986, p.117). If this is true, why bother playing piobaireachd on the GHB in the first place? Continuing her description of piobaireachd, Donaldson states: “For the serious piper or piping fan, this is the supreme music of the pipes; to the uninitiated, it is incomprehensible” (1986, p.117). While most pipers agree that piobaireachd is the “supreme music of the pipes,” piobaireachd, for all its mystique to the “uninitiated,” is simply a musical form of theme and variations, played on the GHB. Theme and variations provide no incomprehensibility for even the most uninitiated audience, especially when provided

with a brief basic introduction, and its performance on a GHB does not mitigate understanding. Piobaireachd continues to suffer, as Donaldson asserts: “To gain an appreciation of this unique musical form requires more than exposure; it requires a knowledge of its background” (1986, p.118). To appreciate Mozart, is it necessary to know that he was virtually starving when he wrote *The Marriage of Figaro*? Is it even necessary to know about Eighteenth Century opera? Certainly, the more background information an audience member possesses, the greater the potential for appreciation, as defined as understanding, but even children who have never been to the theatre can enjoy and appreciate a Mozart comic opera.

The very presence of a person playing a GHB and wearing a kilt has the potential for misrepresentation, or at least misunderstanding. There seems to be a general worldwide opinion that anyone who plays the GHB should be Scottish, or be at least of Scottish ancestry (Hermansson, 2003, p.219). Adding Irish roots as an option, this misconception is often observed in the United States. However, many bagpipers in the United States have no Scottish or Irish roots whatsoever, and for many who do, those roots are tenuous and remote, and often have little to do with why they play GHBs. As one example, Steel Thistle Youth Pipe Band of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, competed in Scotland with twenty-five band members in the ensemble. Of those twenty-five musicians, only one had a Scottish surname, and fourteen had no known Scottish or Irish connection whatsoever. In a survey conducted in November 2013 for this current research, of thirty-two solo members of the EUSPBA, not a single one mentioned Scottish roots as a motivating factor in playing the GHB. In a different survey, conducted in January 2014, four mentioned their heritage as a factor, but none listed it as a primary motivator.

At this point, many think of the GHB as a “world” instrument (Wallace, personal interview, March 4, 2011). Pipers and pipe bands continue to wear the kilt, though, because regardless of the insider’s view of the GHB and its music, the general audience thinks bagpipers should wear the kilt. Although pipers do not often think of themselves as entertainers, they seem to realize intrinsically that “There’s no business like show business.”⁷⁵ Regarding the percentage of American pipers who actually have some measure of Scottish genealogical heritage, a survey of that information is beyond the scope of this study.

An occasionally mentioned sentiment, also erroneous, is that only Scotsmen can be accomplished pipers (Chicago Tribune, December 2, 1934, p.1). Some apparently accept this fallacy, even accomplished players from other countries. Hermansson admits, “I – we – love to listen to the Scottish (and Irish) tunes, especially when played by a Scottish master. We love to play them ourselves, too, but know, that we shall never be able to play the wonderful music so well as a first class Scottish piper” (2003, p.219). Whether out of American cockiness, or simple unawareness of the high level of Scottish players relative to most pipers outside Scotland, this was never a serious impression in the United States. As of 2012, the Gold Medal has been won by Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and Americans. The World Pipe Band Grade I Championship has been won by bands from Canada, Ireland, and Australia. No longer does any illusion exist in the worldwide bagpiping community that native Scots enjoy an exclusive birthright to play the GHB at the highest level.

Perhaps the most damaging misconception to the future of the GHB concerns the “amateur” versus the “professional” piper. In the world of bagpiping, the term

⁷⁵ “There’s no Business like Show Business” is the title of a song from the American Broadway Musical, “Annie, Get Your Gun.”

“professional” describes a piper who competes in “professional” events. In Scotland, most competing solo pipers are considered “professional” simply because there are almost no “amateur” events. The difference is more obvious in the United States because there are far more competitors in the United States who compete in amateur grades than in the professional grade, but even so, the definition remains a competitive distinction rather than a vocational designation. Almost no bagpipers pursue the art vocationally. Rather, piper Jens Hedegaard reveals a truth behind these definitions, “...we are absolutely and totally amateurs ...but our knowledge and our skills and our ambitions are often at a world class level. A pipe major’s dream of having twelve identical chanters in tune and to be played identical, is at a higher level than The Royal Orchestra in Copenhagen...” (Hermansson, 2003, pp.279-280). This statement as it applies to musical precision is largely true, although only the top bands seem to achieve such precision. Because of the competitive nature of bagpiping, tuning at the highest level of play, in pipe bands at least, demands more precision than many professional musical ensembles. Although almost all bagpipers fall under the strict definition of “amateur,” it is a mistake to equate “amateur” with “amateurish,” or to conclude that because there are few truly “professional” bagpipers, that somehow the culture lacks “professionalism.” Bagpiping at the highest level maintains a standard of professionalism equal to any other musical endeavour. Many see professionalism as a requirement for survival, especially among pipe bands, which have to compete against other recreational pursuits for a member’s time, interest, and often, financial commitment. Scott MacDonald, former Pipe Major of the LA Scots, a Grade I pipe band based in Los Angeles, California, sees growth to a more professionally run organization as the vital component in success:

I've seen bands mismanaged, with no direction, and they make the same mistakes over and over. We are too busy to be dealing with that. I wouldn't play in this band and I certainly wouldn't play in any other band ever again unless it was structured professionally. With so many other things to do it's a bummer when you come to band practice and there's four pipers and two sides (Connor and McGonigal, Spring 1996, p.24).

Although the professionalization of bagpiping has not resulted in bagpipers pursuing the GHB as a vocation, pipe bands have begun operating in a much more businesslike manner, with pipe bands increasingly incorporating as businesses. Whereas in the past, pipe bands were often operated as a "benevolent dictatorship" with the Pipe Major and the Lead Drummer making all of the musical as well as business decisions in the band, the model is changing to incorporate input from the entire group. Drummer Gordon Parkes posits that the professionalization of bagpiping, especially pipe bands, must follow successful business models to remain competitive as a business: "Every successful business now-a-days is realizing that the people in the organization are the key resource. ...the ideas have to come from a variety of people. That is the way businesses are going and that is the way the most successful bands are also going. You are seeing less autocratic leading drummers, and less autocratic pipe majors" (Quigg, Final 1995, p.25).

If pipe bands and solo pipers at the highest level of the art are viewing bagpiping in terms of "professionalism," turning more and more to business models as a template for continued growth, why has bagpiping essentially remained an amateur endeavour? Why has this remained a hobby, especially in the United States, where seemingly everything is turned into both a profession and an opportunity to make money? Instead of a legitimate profession, bagpiping is, for almost everyone involved, a hobby.

Bagpiping as a Profession

Although the bagpiping community uses the term “professional” with great frequency, it does not mean that the “professional” in question actually makes his or her living as a bagpiper. Rather, the term has taken on an entirely different meaning, designating the highest level of competitive status. With few exceptions, all bagpipers in the United States play the GHB as a hobby, albeit an often lucrative one. The number of bagpipers who can legitimately claim the GHB as their sole or even primary source of income is extremely small, mostly limited to bagpipers who have managed to find teaching positions in universities. Universities, mentioned in Chapter VII as one of the few formal learning environments for bagpiping, by nature require accomplished teachers, some of whom are able to maintain a full time teaching studio because of their connection to the university. Teaching remains the primary income source for most Bagpipers, as opposed to performance opportunities. Unfortunately, bagpipers lack a regular professional performance venue for three reasons. First, bagpipers do not think of themselves as performers, entertainers, or usually, even musicians (Lee, Winter 2001, p.53). Second, because of this self-image, which often manifests itself in the view that bagpipers are the second-class citizens of the music world, most bagpipers do not have a high enough opinion of their own ability or of the intrinsic value of the GHB to charge a livable fee for their performances (Tunncliffe, Spring, 2002, p.19). Third, a regular professional performance venue for the solo GHB does not exist other than the occasional wedding or funeral (Bottomley, Summer, 2011, p.6). The foundation of all three of these reasons lies in bagpipers’ self-perception. bagpipers as a group do not view themselves as being able to play GHBs for a living, so they do not play GHBs for a living. This self-perception begins when the bagpiper performs and teaches “on the

side,” modeling an expectation that bagpipers are amateurs, regardless of how “professionally” they might approach performing or teaching. When a new student enters this environment, his teacher guides him into the only performance opportunity generally available to bagpipers: GHB competition. The teacher never mentions bagpiping as a possible vocation. Drummer Randy Sperl argues that failure to promote bagpiping on a professional level is one of the primary weaknesses of the United States pipe band community (Fall 1997, p.12). If the bagpiping community continues to pursue and promote competition as its primary, and perhaps sole venue for outreach, bagpiping will continue to be viewed merely as a hobby by most bagpipers.

Cultural and Societal Prejudices

Prejudice exists in many forms, and cultural and societal prejudices account for many obstacles to growth of the bagpiping community. The primary prejudices facing the bagpiping community are age, gender, and culture bias, and a general ignorant distain for the instrument. Sim (2011) argues that in the American South, many icons of Scottish heritage, such as the tartan and the St. Andrew’s flag carry overt racist connotations because of their association with ante-bellum culture and the Confederacy (p.27-31). Hague (2002) takes Sim’s contention one step further, positing an underlying theme of racism pervades the Southern adoption of Scottish cultural artifacts (pp.149-151). While racial bias still occurs in the United States, very little overt racial bias appears to exist in the bagpiping community in the United States, perhaps because there is so little racial integration in the GHB culture.

Age Bias

The United States, like many developed countries, has an aging population, and this condition appears in many pursuits, especially recreational activities. To

accommodate the growing numbers of adult learners in the EUSPBA, Grade IV, the entry level competitive solo grade, is split into two age groups – Grade IV Junior and Grade IV Senior – to accommodate competitors who are under eighteen and over eighteen years of age. Rather than protecting the children from the adult competitors, many see these categories as giving older beginners a chance at a medal. There has even been discussion from time to time at EUSPBA Annual General Meetings about splitting the Grade IV Senior into two age groups, to accommodate older adults. Nancy Tunnicliffe observes that the United States is a leader in adult bagpiping education, comparing adult learning in America to the Scottish paradigm: “Certainly, in Scotland, youth is considered not just a desirable quality, but almost a requirement. Here, piping reaches out and grabs all sorts of people for all sorts of reasons. And it grabs them at all stages of life” (Spring 1999, p.18). As an adult learner herself, Tunnicliffe is an outspoken advocate for adult beginners, encouraging older adults to take up the instrument, citing her experience with several students who were not allowed to take up the pipes as children (Tunnicliffe, Spring 1999, p.18).

Unfortunately, not all pipers agree with Tunnicliffe. While instances of age bias are rare, they do occur. Piper Chuck Acklin, who began learning the GHB at age 59, describes the age bias he encountered at the hands of a professional piper and judge who was serving as an instructor at the first pipe band workshop he attended, having been playing the GHB for only three months:

After the first tune [the instructor] stopped the band. Identifying me he asked how long I had been playing. Then gave me this advice, “... plug your drones, don’t let a sound come out of your chanter and you will do this band a great service.” Later I asked for clarification. His response was, “You have no business starting GHBs. You are too old...” (personal correspondence, November 1, 2013).

Acklin has since received almost universal encouragement from other pipers, teachers, and judges (personal correspondence, November 1, 2013). Despite this unfortunate example, age bias in the bagpiping community is rare in the United States, as evidenced by the vast number of adult beginners in America. Of 1354 solo competitors registered in 2013, 611, or 45% were classified as Grade IV Senior. These figures do not consider the number of adult competitors in Grade III or Grade II, which are intermediate grades, or the vast number of adult pipers and drummers who are not registered as solo competitors, but who play in pipe bands. A marginally more prevalent bias concerns gender.

Gender Bias

Gender bias in music has been extensively examined through a wide variety of cultures and perspectives (Cohen, 2008; Koskoff, 2005; Stobart, 2008; Trimillos, 2009). Doubleday (2002) found widespread gender bias in a variety of cultures worldwide far more so in instrumental music than in vocal music, with many cultures excluding female participation in instrumental music altogether (p.16). Stobart (2008) found similar instrumental/vocal segregation in the Bolivian Andes, but determined that this was not viewed negatively as either bias or segregation, rather being viewed positively by males and females in the culture as a natural expression of gender identification (p.87). In the United States bias in music is less defined, although certain musical instruments are by convention thought of as inherently appropriate for male or female (Hassinger, 1989, p.197). Additionally, gender bias has been a topic of general concern in the United States since the Nineteenth Century, and continues to be so for many Americans. Landmark education reform in gender bias and discrimination was enacted with the Education Amendments of 1972, commonly known as "Title IX," which ended exclusion from educational

programs which receive federal financial assistance.⁷⁶ This legislation accomplished two things. First, it ensured that female students would have equal access in the United States to all educational opportunities, especially athletics. Second, it initiated an attitude change in the American people, that women have the right to real equality. Title IX did not end gender bias in the United States any more than the Civil Rights Act of 1964 completely eradicated racial discrimination.⁷⁷ However, both pieces of legislation removed federal sanction of discrimination, and forced Americans to examine their views on these subjects. In terms of gender, American women are now included in every aspect of life and society, including sports, politics, medicine, business, and the United States military.⁷⁸ This general attitude of inclusion also applies to the bagpiping community.

Many American women play the GHB, although like Scotland, the bagpiping community in the United States is most heavily populated with men (Neville, Winter 1998, pp.27-28). However, until recently, certain traditional views about the culture have presented roadblocks to free and full access by everyone to the culture. Until the mid-1970s, traditional gender and age discrimination remained at Highland games. Colquhoun and Machell (1927) wrote: “Highland dancing on the platform, as an exhibition, is best performed by fully grown men... Boys and girls shine best in the ballroom (unless under fourteen)” (p.23).⁷⁹ Archaic views of the culture and of gender roles continue to exist, especially among outsiders, and many audience members appear to expect a piper to be male. Laura Neville describes this

⁷⁶ Retrieved November 2, 2103: <http://www2.ed.gov/pubs/TitleIX/part3.html>

⁷⁷ Retrieved November 2, 2013: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97>

⁷⁸ As of September 2012, women serve in 95% of all occupations in the US. Military. In January 2013, the Department of Defense overturned the 1994 rule barring women from serving in front line combat units.

⁷⁹ To be fair, Colquhoun and Machell later favourably mention the “...quiet, restrained style of the Aberdeenshire girls at their ordinary local dances...” as well as the appearance of the “Australasian Ladies Pipe Band at the 1926 Braemar Highland Gathering (Colquhoun & Machell, 1927, p.24).

stereotype: “I think it has to do with that image that we all have of ‘the piper,’ a gigantic red-bearded person turning bright red and sweating with effort!” (Winter 1998, p.30). Hermansson (2003) noted this stereotype in his research, although he found an almost universally positive response from Scandinavian audiences to the presence of female band members, observing only one group which appeared to express any kind of gender bias: “The most outspoken prejudice against female players have come from a few invited Scottish adjudicators, with comments like ‘good looking drum corps’ on the judges sheets where there were two female drummers in the band” (p.160). Any judge in the EUSPBA who wrote such a comment on a score sheet would be expelled from the judges’ panel.

Female pipers are sometimes passed over for performances because of their gender. Piper Betsy Bethel-MacFarland remarks: “One time, I was asked by a fellow male piper if I could play a wedding that he could not. I said yes, but then he called me back and said the couple wanted a male piper so they wouldn’t hire me” (personal correspondence, December 28, 2013). Piper Marsha Bell shares a similar story: “I was told by a prospective client that as a woman, I didn’t match the ‘ideal’ of what a ‘real’ piper was. I was too shocked to even say anything” (personal correspondence, December 28, 2013). Piper Timmy Hord describes her response to gender bias: “I do have to admit that when I was first rejected for the gender thing many years ago, I was tempted to send them some guy who couldn’t tune his drones” (personal correspondence, December 28, 2013). Piper Nancy Tunnicliffe has occasionally endured gender bias in her travels to compete in Scotland: “I’ve had people say to me that I play well, but I really shouldn’t be playing at all because women should not be playing the GHB. I’ve had people cheerfully tell me the story of MacCrimmon’s

daughters having their own hands chopped off or their hands held in the fire as punishment for learning to play on the sly” (Neville, Winter 1998, pp.27-28).

It is possible that gender bias is simply an aspect of Scottish culture. At one Highland games in Scotland in 1996, Shannon Hartnett, a female athlete from California competed in the men’s heavyweight division, because there was no female division. After every throw, the announcer would state, “Not bad for a girl.” Hartnett beat almost all of the male competitors, ending up near the top of the results in every event that day (Regan, personal recollection, January 12, 2014). Unlike the announcer, Scottish field events are purely objective.

Despite discrimination in the past, Tunnicliffe claims that gender bias has diminished greatly during her experience as a member of the bagpiping community, crediting this societal progress to the women who pioneered inclusion:

For one thing, women and girls who are starting now have role models. There are female pipers in the upper grades and who are judges. I think that people who have some problem with that idea look at the reality of it and realize they’re not going to change it by making nasty comments. I certainly haven’t heard anything much lately (Neville, Winter 1998, p.28).

One of these pioneers, Gail Brown, claims to be the first female to play in a Scottish Grade I Pipe Band. Having heard the Shotts and Dykehead Caledonia Pipe Band in competition, and subsequently attended several of their band rehearsals, Brown initially approached Pipe Major Tom McAllister about the possibility of joining the group:

So I talked to Tom later, and asked him if he’d ever take a girl into the band. He said, “Oh, hen. You’re just a wee lassie.” So that went on for another three years until I paid for a trip over on spring break in 1972 for a week’s holiday with a girlfriend. I went to the band hall and said, “I’m really serious about this. I’m done with school in a few months, and I want to move over. After that, he had a band meeting to discuss the potential of a female coming into the band. (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.27).

This pivotal band meeting apparently became somewhat contentious at one point, until Alex Duthart, the universally respected lead drummer of the band, who had no preconceived ideas about the appropriateness of a female playing with the band, chimed in to ask the one question nobody else had thought to ask: “He wanted to know musically, in Tom’s opinion, if I was qualified to play with the band. Tom apparently said something to the effect of, ‘I think she’s as good player as I am, if that’s an answer for you, Alex.’ He said, ‘Right, Tom. That’s good enough for me’” (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.27). Such was the esteem in which Duthart was held by the band, that with one remark of approval he silenced any further opposition. Apparently, however, McAllister continued to shoulder some bias on Brown’s behalf, although this was from outside the band itself. Brown recalls finding out much later that McAllister had received several calls from other Grade I Pipe Majors complaining about her inclusion in the band (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.27).

In writing about teacher Frank Hudak, drummer Randy Sperl mentions a bias against Hudak’s oldest daughter, Janet, who began lessons at age nine, and became one of the first female competitors in the United States. At age twelve, Hudak was voted into the Yonkers Kilty Pipe Band, but her admission to the group was so controversial and contentious that many of the older members resigned because they refused to play in a pipe band with a girl (Sperl, Summer 2004, p.12).

The most extreme cases of gender bias occasionally result in females not being accepted as students. In at least one case, that of female piper and adult learner Winter Taylor, although she was attracted to the pipes at a very early age, the only teacher in Huntington, West Virginia, refused to teach her simply because she was a girl (Obituaries, Spring 2012, p.8). This would be almost unheard of in the United

States today. This type of age and gender discrimination is largely a thing of the past, although the last vestiges of gender discrimination are still apparent. GHB competition and pipe band membership are still male dominated arenas. Male-only pipe bands are rare, but they still exist, even at the highest levels. Writing about the St. Thomas Episcopal School program, drummer Alison Dean writes:

As a 16-year-old girl learning to play the snare drum, I was shocked to see in the fall issue of *the VOICE* an article about the St. Thomas Episcopal School. While this article states that over 100 students participate in this pipe band program, it fails to mention that no female member of the school is allowed to play. The EUSPBA does not condone gender bias and discrimination, so why should *the VOICE* print an article about a school that goes so blatantly against what the EUSPBA stands for? (Winter 2001, p.12).

It is important to note that St. Thomas Episcopal School began to include females in their pipe band beginning in 2012 (Todkill, personal interview, November 9, 2013).

In direct contrast to these unfortunate examples of gender bias and exclusion, a few leaders of the bagpiping community have championed women's rights. Robert Forbes, a Scottish immigrant and former Royal Air Force Spitfire pilot, landed in Dallas, Texas in 1953 (Forbes-Brouillard, personal correspondence, February 2, 2014). During the next fifty years he taught anyone who sought lessons. Susan Ramey Jensen shares her memories of Forbes: "He was so patient with all of us beginners. I remember loving to listen to whatever stories he told us about piping. I remember being one of 'the fellas' and how Dee [another female student] and I would always get a sideways glance if we didn't come when called until he said, 'And ladies, too!' with a grin" (Jensen, personal correspondence, February 2, 2014).

Cultural Bias

The third area of concern is that of cultural bias. Widely examined in such fields as medicine (Formicola, Stavisky & Lewy, 2003), law (Miller, 2008; Rosich, 2007) and education (Wiesen, 2002; Santora, 2004), the study of cultural bias in

music has received little attention, Munro (1985) being a notable exception. Munro exposes the cultural bias against folk and traditional music sometimes found among members of the art music community (1985, p.35).

Although cultural bias is not widely pervasive within the bagpiping community, it does exist, and may be viewed from two perspectives. The first perspective, internal bias, reveals cultural bias between two aspects of the culture. This seems to occur only rarely in bagpiping. Unlike Scotland, where the solo and pipe band communities could easily be described as separate groups, most solo pipers in the United States are active participants in pipe band performance. There is virtually no bias or animosity between solo and pipe band piping in the United States, nor is bias between the two subcultures apparent in Scotland. A more appropriate description of the views held by solo and pipe band pipers in Scotland would be benign disinterest and neglect of one another.

Another example of internal bias, perhaps marginally more apparent, is occasional friction between Scottish and Irish pipe bands. While the prevailing attitude between Scottish and Irish American pipe bands is one of congeniality, cultural bias is occasionally perceived by members of one group or the other. In one case, this bias was viewed as an attack on the Irish musical style, an issue of culture rather than interpretation, as reported by Piper Michael Faughnan, an active member of a competing Irish pipe band since the early 1970s:

Competitors are given mixed signals on the East Coast by some (and I mean only some) judges as to the acceptability of this style of music. Being the pipe major of an Irish Pipe Band, I have seen this issue develop over the years. I have encountered a full range of explanation. From 'it was mentioned on your score sheet but had no bearing on the outcome,' to 'these are Scottish games and the judges... ..stress and reward the playing of the Scottish idiom.' I can't believe the latter to be true (Fall 1996, p.8).

Faughnan's remarks bring up a larger question concerning pipe band style, which must be addressed. From a strictly musical perspective, as opposed to the subtle tempo rubato nature of solo GHB music, pipe band style is generally very strict. Tempos are strictly adhered to, and relative note values are honoured in a far more uniform manner than with solo style. These stylistic mandates stem from the requirement of pipe bands to attempt to play in strict unison. Individual expression has no place in a pipe band. In terms of tune selection, the pipe band world has traditionally been slow to accept new ideas, and this includes any non-traditional expression of creativity, including the presentation of tunes from outside the narrowly accepted Scottish idiom. The response from judges to non-traditional music should not be considered as cultural bias, so much as bias against anything that is non-traditional. In this regard, at least, Faughnan's perceptions are partially confirmed in the reflections of teacher and judge James McIntosh, MBE:

...[M]ost of the judges were traditional types who didn't go for this newfangled type of music that has crept into bands in the last five to seven years. Personally, I don't go too much on it. I think the GHB is a traditional instrument and I think we should be playing the tunes that are suited to it. But some people still insist on playing this stuff (Summer 1995, p.24).

McIntosh's observations of judges' opinions, including his own, apparently, indicate a general disdain for anything new, not merely for music with an Irish style.

Eighteen years later, Faughnan reconsidered his earlier comments, tracing the introduction of traditional Irish music in the 1980s to bands such as the Grade I 78th Fraser Highlanders, of Canada, whose, "...style of music interested a lot of bands in our area because of their ethnic backgrounds. There was an enthusiastic integration of this music that trickled down into medleys of lower grade bands into the 1990's" (personal correspondence, January 12, 2014). Faughnan recalled that judges of the time, "...were using a standard of musicality and expression that clearly was steeped

in the Scottish pointed style of play, and bands were stepping onto the field delivering many ‘round Irish styled’ jigs and reels. In fact they were doing it poorly in many instances” (personal correspondence, January 12, 2014). Faughnan’s remark about poor presentation presents the real issue for many judges, although this valid objection was not always given as a reason for poor results from the judges. Faughnan recalls that rather than lack of unison or faithful presentation of the style itself, the score sheets often referenced lack of pointing or that the tunes were played, “...[T]oo round, in some instances using the term too much ‘Irish diddly music.’ Clearly the fact that the tune selection did not measure up to the Scottish benchmark was always reinforced on the sheets as opposed to mentioning the more obvious lack of unison, poor technique or sound” (personal correspondence, January 14, 2014). Here Faughnan reveals what he views as an example of poor communication on the score sheet, rather than cultural bias. If a band plays poorly, lacking unison or rhythmic integrity, perhaps presenting a tune in a musically unappealing manner, an experienced judge would comment on those aspects of the performance. Hearing an innovative presentation of unfamiliar music, however, sometimes has the effect of confusing less experienced judges, especially if presented with a new approach to an old idea. When the Irish idiom was introduced, it must certainly have had a jarring effect on many judges previously accustomed solely to a Scottish musical interpretation. In those early instances, it is understandable, if not excusable, that the novelty of a performance might distract a judge enough to not mention the poor musical and technical merits of a performance. Faughnan realizes this is the case, in some instances at least. In describing changes in the world view and acceptance of innovative music within the bagpiping community, he credits bands like Shotts and Dykehead and St. Lawrence O’Toole for introducing diverse musical influences in

addition to traditional Irish music: “I think things have evolved in the pipe band world as there has been more globalization of the music we play, and growth in adjudication. Today there are Pipe Bands playing ‘entertaining music,’ and more accepting and educated adjudicators. You can find accepted mixes of music in bands everywhere” (personal correspondence, January 12, 2014). Faughnan’s comment about educated adjudicators reveals a perception widely held among competitors, that judges are now taught to consider musicality as more important than cultural peculiarity in competitive events.

The second manifestation of cultural bias occurs in various types of prejudice against the culture from outside the culture itself. In bagpiping, the first example of this is seen in the disdain exhibited by many non-bagpiping musicians. One example of this may be seen in *Scotland in Music*, written by English musicologist Roger Fiske, who mentions the GHB seven times, each time blatantly ridiculing or disparaging the instrument (Fiske, 1983, pp. 14, 52, 60, 116, 118, 121, 147). Randy Sperl discusses the negative perception of bagpipers by many members of the greater music world, recalling conversations he has had with many non-bagpiping musicians: “[T]hey have exclaimed something to the effect of, ‘Pipers and drummers are not really musicians. The piping and drumming I have heard has been atrocious. They were not in tune, could not play together, and when I spoke with them, they told me they can’t read music and they don’t practice regularly’” (Fall 1997, p.12). As mentioned earlier, this perception is not without merit, as many bagpipers do not think of themselves as musicians, because the practice of rote learning without attention to theory or musical analysis persists in many areas of the bagpiping culture. Teacher and judge Paula Glendinning asserts that such disdain should not be condoned, and certainly not perpetuated by members of the bagpiping community:

“We still may smile good-naturedly when our friends insist on telling GHB jokes, but we don’t have to tell those jokes ourselves” (Spring 2002, p.59).

Bias against the instrument itself is occasionally seen as an obstacle to transmission. One often quoted misconception is that everyone either loves or hates the GHB. This stems from the large number of listeners who claim to be in the latter camp, and the many non-bagpipers who compare the GHB unfavourably to other musical instruments (Janoski, Summer 2005, p.70). Understandably, many people who have never heard a well-played, well-tuned GHB, do not like the sound of what they have heard. Hermansson (2003, p.199) asserts that most listeners, uninitiated in the nuances of GHB performance, are not familiar with the repertoire or the technical details of GHB music, but can nevertheless tell if an instrument is in tune and if the piper is playing melodically and rhythmically. However, without a point of reference, namely a well-tuned, musically played GHB, there is no way to know that the poorly tuned, poorly played GHB is poorly tuned and poorly played. Uninitiated audience members, unfamiliar with the sound of a GHB, who listen to unskilled players playing poorly tuned instruments, are likely to find it unpleasant to the ear, condemning the instrument instead of the player in question. This might be the case with any instrument, but most western audiences know what a guitar or a trumpet, for instance, is “supposed” to sound like.

The prevailing view of poor public performances is one of embarrassment on behalf of the instrument, as noted by Tunnicliffe: “We must be mindful to put forward only our very best every time we play in public, whatever venue. The day of painful caterwauling by the barely initiated needs to be gone, and standards of public performance raised. We owe that to ourselves and to the Great Highland Bagpipe” (Fall 2003, p.21). Tunnicliffe does not suggest only pipers at the top level of mastery

should perform in public. Rather, she admonishes pipers to wait until they are skilled enough to tune the instrument accurately, and proficient enough in playing to present a competent performance. The sometimes perceived restriction that only the best players should perform in public is occasionally expressed by members of the bagpiping community, although this view is often taken to an extreme. While listening to a pipe band prepare for a competition at one event, a remark was made to a fellow spectator that the selection the band was playing was very musical. The spectator, a Bagpiper, replied, “Yes. It’s too bad they aren’t a better band.” The band in question was the 78th Fraser Highlanders of Canada, and the location was the tuning circle immediately prior to their 6th place performance at the Grade I World Pipe Band Championship (Regan, personal recollection, January 12, 2014). On that particular day, there were five better bands in the world.

Prospective audience members often cite the volume produced by the GHB as a reason for disdain of the instrument, and many bagpipers agree: “...[B]ut who wants to listen to a beginner trying to learn any instrument, let alone one that is extremely difficult to learn to blow and tune and which can produce a volume of over 100dB on its own?” (Hermansson, 2003, p.263). Although this could hardly be considered an unreasonable prejudice, the simple fact is that most beginners do not have the physical ability and skill to play an instrument that could produce a volume of 100dB.

Many native Scots living in Scotland seem to hold the GHB in a certain contempt. Some view the GHB merely as an annoying novelty designed to attract tourists (Denholm, December 11, 2003, unpaginated). Others, rather than embracing the GHB as a cultural symbol, often disregard it as irrelevant (Walton, September 22, 2003). The sum of the GHB repertoire in the opinion of most audiences worldwide

consists of two tunes, “Scotland the Brave” and “Amazing Grace.” This statement is certainly true in the United States, and sadly, largely true in Scotland. The GHB has been and continues to be looked down upon by many people. Piping competitor and judge John Wilson states:

...[S]ome things never change. Apparently, in the Greco-Roman world, the bagpipe was an instrument ‘of low-caste musicians and mendicants.’ Those who have tuned their pipe in a bathroom at the Glazier’s Hall in London or who have waited in massed bands during rain or blistering sun, or –as once happened to me—been told by the deputy head of the music department of Scotland’s oldest university that the Great Highland bagpipe is not a serious musical instrument, might still feel like a beggar or an untouchable (Fall 1996, pp.37-38).

Perhaps as a result of perceived audience antipathy toward the GHB, some in the GHB culture tend to recoil from contact and interaction with outsiders, while others purposely maintain an aura of inaccessibility, cloaking the music in mystery (Kent and Glendinning, Fall 1997, p.29). John Wilson asserts that bagpipers must actively take their place as full and equal members of the music world: “...[I]t still remains for someone to dispel this image and explain why GHBs are an important part of our musical heritage and to explore the rich musical legacy of these different instruments” (Fall, 1996, p.38).

CONCERNS FOR THE FUTURE

The bagpiping community in the United States, for all its growth in the last sixty years, continues to face an uncertain future. As far back as the early 1990s, a few leaders in North America began to notice a recession in some areas of the GHB community. As early as the 1990s, a few leaders in North America began to notice a recession in some areas of the GHB community. In 1998 Jack Lee expressed his concerns for bagpiping in North America, citing a shortage of outstanding younger players, and noting that most of the top players are over the age of 35 years old

(Rogers and McGonigal, Summer 1998, p.39). Scottish teacher and judge David Murray (Summer 1999a), however, thinks the future of Scottish bagpiping lies largely in North America, and that the worldwide bagpiping community must look to Canada and the United States for continued cultural growth (p.8).

Waning interest from the next generation presents one obvious danger. The bagpiping culture has flourished in the United States on two previous occasions, only to diminish almost to the point of extinction. Jack Lee expresses this concern in a comparison with Canadian hockey following the 1998 Winter Olympics, which saw the Canadian team, once a perennial favourite, shut out of the medal list: “We produce more hockey players than any other country in the world, but we haven’t produced very many *great*, young players in a few years. And I think it caught up with us this time. We need a lot of players, but we need a few great players, too. I feel it’s the same way in piping and drumming” (Rogers, and McGonigal, Summer 1998, p.39). Here Lee calls for quality in addition to quantity, believing that both are essential to sustain a vibrant culture.

The Uncertain Future of Highland Games

Highland Games in the United States face an uncertain future. Janoski (2007, p.62) suggests that the popularity of GHB competition might be coming to an end. The ever increasing cost of travel, combined with the expense of hiring multiple judges to officiate has had a dampening effect on many events. Many Highland games suffer from lack of funds, depending on high audience attendance and good weather. Bad weather means low turnout, financial loss, and often, cancellation of next year’s event. Highland games are constantly under economic pressure to scale back competitive piping events, often shrinking events to the point of irrelevance or cancelling events altogether (Janoski, Spring 2006, p.66).

Evidence of the irrelevance of competition to most non-piping audience members may be seen in the small attendance of spectators at most competitive bagpiping events. As an example, the Ligonier Highland Games, one of the oldest, and arguably one of the biggest and best attended events in the Eastern United States, holds the professional piobaireachd competition as a formal, indoor event on the Friday evening before the Highland games. In an effort to attract and retain a larger audience, a Master of Ceremonies gave a brief history of each piobaireachd, and each competitor played a hornpipe and jig before the piobaireachd. James McIntosh, MBE, describes the turn out: “The audience must have appreciated the format, as over 60 people attended this year” (Winter 1998, p.14). An audience of 60 people touted as a successful event shows a complete disconnect with what truly constitutes a successful event. Piper Derek Midgley takes a more realistic view of attendance at premier events. The United States Piping Foundation sponsors an indoor event restricted to Grade I Amateurs and Professionals only, held only ten miles from the location of the Colonial Highland Gathering, one of the largest and best attended Highland games in the Eastern United States. Conveniently located in Newark, Delaware, only one hour from the population centers of Philadelphia and Baltimore, and two hours from New York City, this premier event experiences worse attendance than the Ligonier competition. Midgley describes the turn out: “With absolutely nothing else on the EUSPBA calendar... ..attendance for this year’s USPF was shockingly small. It is actually rather embarrassing that the number of people in the audience nearly equaled that of the competitors!” (Summer 2008, p.15). Midgley’s comment implies that even other bagpipers won’t attend competitions unless they themselves are competing, and in fact, there have been several years when the

competitors outnumbered the audience at this event (Regan, personal recollection, March 14, 2014).

Disregard for the audience is another problem with competitive events at Highland Games. At the 2003 EUSPBA Pipe Band Championships, bands competed in a “concert” format, with the bands on a stage facing the audience, rather than the more common format of an inward facing circle. The drum sections were given the option of choosing where to stand on the stage, creating wide variance in sound between the competing bands. Alasdair Aitken (Fall 2003, p.30), the drumming judge for the event, found this arrangement to be inconvenient from a judging perspective, complaining that it was difficult to find one position to listen to the drum corps in relation to the entire band. In his suggestions for improving an event, citing a need for uniform placement of band members, Aitken describes how placement of the competing band could improve the judge’s ability to hear the performance: “If the EUSPBA intends to try the on-stage format at future competitions there would in my view be merit in researching in advance the most appropriate format for sound projection from the adjudicators’ point of view” (Fall 2003, p.30). Judges must be able to critique the competition, but Aitken does not even consider the audience’s ability to hear and enjoy the event, and this attitude is borne out in competitions throughout the United States.

Not all bagpipers disregard the audience in their views. Piper and judge Michael Green considers the audience in his comments, noting that most events are held in locations that are not conducive to audience enjoyment: “The Santa Rosa contest (now Pleasanton) in California is legendary for their concert-style band contest, which draws top-level bands and hundreds of extra spectators each year. All you need is some shade and a comfortable place for the audience to sit” (Summer

1999, p.54). The Pleasanton Scottish Gathering and Games annually draws more than 30,000 attendees.⁸⁰ Only about two to three percent of the total attend the pipe band competition. However, these figures do not tell the complete story. At the main pipe band circle, placed in arguably the nicest location in the park, a beautiful grove of old-growth trees, with shaded bleachers carefully surrounding three sides, the crowd is literally standing room only. The question at Pleasanton is not how to get spectators to attend, but rather, how to find room for them. Green's assertion stands correct: "...finding shade and a comfortable place for the audience to sit," is a major issue facing Highland games. The Ligonier Highland Games has plenty of bleacher space, and hundreds of spectators fill them for the pipe band events. Unfortunately, the games runs two different band events simultaneously within forty yards of each other. As one glib competitor was heard to remark, "All we're missing is another ring and a guy with a bullwhip" (Regan, personal recollection, January 24, 2014).⁸¹ So many pipe bands attend Ligonier, the organizers see no other way of completing the event in a reasonable time. Furthermore, rather than designing the venue to fit the event, games committees typically have to work with fixed facilities. Repositioning bleachers is often not feasible. Finances, time, and environmental and logistical obstacles often preclude an ideal venue, to the detriment of audience, performer, and organizer.

Some view the games themselves as the problem. Drummer Harry Meade suggests pipe bands desert the Highland games venue in favor of an event the pipers devise themselves: "...[N]ot a festival, games, or gathering, as these have committees that have been shown to not have the best interest of the musicians at

⁸⁰ Retrieved January 27, 2014: http://www.thescottishgames.com/games_history.pdf

⁸¹ Barnum and Bailey's Circus had three "rings" with performances held simultaneously in each. The Master of Ceremonies, known as the "ringmaster" cracked a long bullwhip to gain the audience's attention.

heart” (Winter 1997, p.10). While bagpiping competitions are sometimes perceived as an unavoidable nuisance by Highland games committees, not everyone agrees with Meade that these committees do not care about the musicians. As the examples of Pleasanton and Ligonier reveal, many times, the games organizers see no other way to accommodate everyone.

Some perceive Highland games committees do not understand the value of holding piping competitions, especially at the higher levels. Michael Green suggests that the EUSPBA make an effort to educate Highland games organizers about the advantages of promoting bagpiping events: “Games officials may be deterred by the higher cost in prize money, but they should know that this could be more than offset by the larger numbers of competitors and spectators a big band or solo contest can attract” (Summer 1999, p.54). In light of McIntosh’s earlier comments about sixty audience members in attendance at a major event, and his own estimation of an event that draws hundreds out of a pool of thousands, Green appears to overstate the value of competition.

Some pipers who straddle the fence between competitor and organizer present a more sympathetic perspective of the Highland games committees. Piper Peter Armstrong, Director of Bagpiping at the Charleston, South Carolina Highland Games, notes that at most venues, the pipe bands’ obligation to the Highland games is limited to two massed bands, which Armstrong suggests is a reasonable price for the bands to pay (Spring 2010, p.8). Piper Kenton Adler, a member of the Lyon College Arkansas Scottish Festival Committee, further notes that piping competitions cost the Highland games far more than the events bring in financially, at least in terms of entry fees. Adler argues that most Highland games organizers hold the

competitions largely for the benefit of the competitors (Summer 2010, p.9).

Bottomley echoes the sentiment of Armstrong and Adler:

We don't seem to realize one very important thing. While we need the games as an outlet to perform, the games could fairly well do without us. They could hire a few duty bands with big hairy hats to perform and save hundreds of headaches with scheduling, score sheets, judges, prizes, and so forth. Yet we too often act like the games 'owe us.' Like it's our God-given right to be there and they should be happy to have us (Summer 2011, p.6).

Michael Rogers argues that the competitive bagpiping events could become revenue generators for the Highland games, but he blames the bagpiping community's self-isolation and estrangement from the audience and from the games organizers for the apparent lack of interest from non-bagpiping audiences, arguing it is the bagpiping community's responsibility to connect with the audience as well as with the games organizers (Fall 1996, p.46).

Unfortunately, the bagpiping community often appears to be interested only in the results of the next competition, without regard to sustainability. The topic of sustainability has never been discussed at the Annual General Meeting of the EUSPBA, perhaps because the membership has largely determined that the responsibility for running competitions, including funding, advertising, and staffing, lies with Highland games committees, not with the pipers who benefit the most and have the most to lose when a Highland games chooses to end their support of a competition. As Bottomley indicates, Highland games could easily cancel competitions altogether, hiring a guest pipe band to provide musical ambiance to the event. Such a decision would save the Highland games time and money, and from the audience's perspective, the competition itself would hardly be missed. Combining financial constraints, a diminishing audience base, and continued lack of cooperation between pipers and games organizers potentially leads to a result far

more serious and detrimental than marginalization: a complete loss of certain venues.

Following a period of growth from 2004-2011, the number of Highland games in the United States significantly decreased, with several events cancelled, usually for lack of funding. The precarious financial position of most Highland games requires a strong spectator turn out every year. Poor audience attendance, usually because of bad weather, devastates all but the largest, most well established games. Chart IV-B shows the development of EUSPBA sanctioned events from 2004-2013.

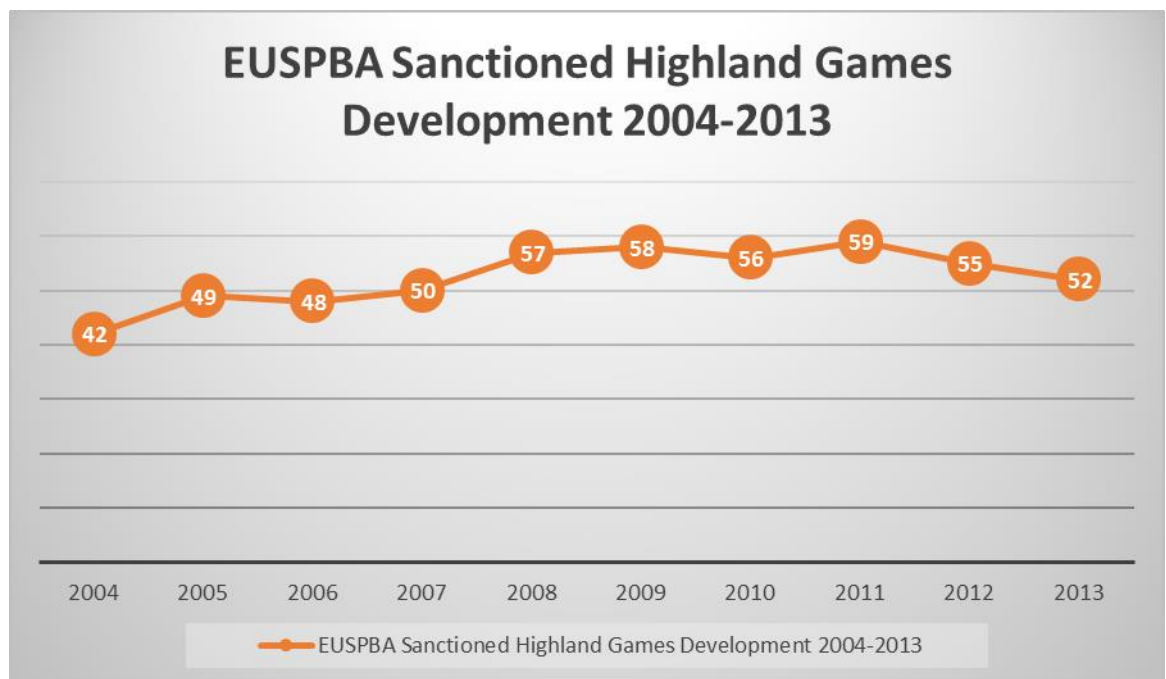


Chart IV-B: chart showing the development of EUSPBA Sanctioned Highland Games

Although the two year decline in 2012-2013 does not confirm a trend, it nevertheless causes concern. Much more alarming, of the fifty two games held in 2013, only twenty are at least ten years old. On one hand, it appears that thirty two new games have been established in the last ten years. On the other hand, twenty two games that were in existence ten years ago are no longer conducted. It must be remembered, of

the 125 Highland games presented in the 1920s, only five still operated by 1950 (MacDonald, 2007, p.464). Green (Summer 1999) discusses the paucity of top level competition opportunities in the EUSPBA, and his comments could easily be applied as a broad statement about Highland games in general: “It may be that the current gap in the top level competition schedule is a temporary anomaly, but we cannot be too sure. No one wants to wake up in five years and find that all we have to look forward to is a season of Highland picnics, with pipers and drummers invited to provide the background music” (p.54). Whether the recent down turn of Highland games illustrates a temporary anomaly, or the beginning of a larger cultural demise, remains to be seen.

Membership Trends in the EUSPBA

If the loss of competitive venues in the 2012-2013 competition seasons causes concern, EUSPBA membership numbers must cause alarm. Chart IV-C shows the

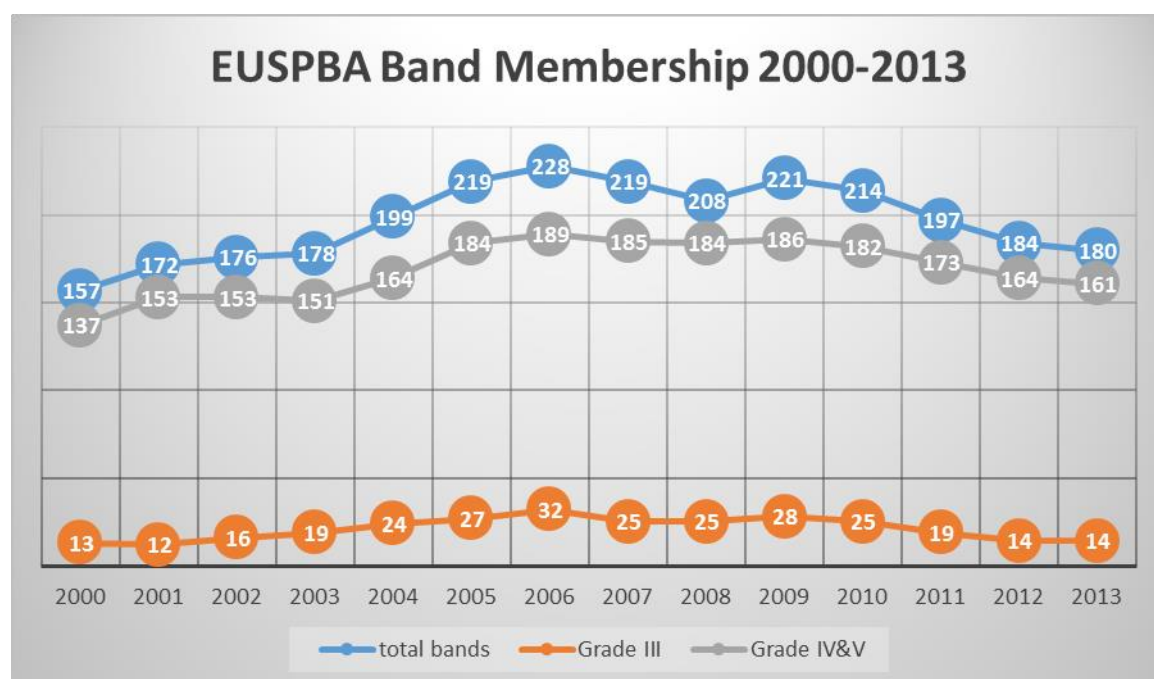


Chart IV-C: Chart showing EUSPBA pipe band membership by Grade

thirteen year growth of pipe bands in the EUSPBA. Although the EUSPBA experienced healthy growth throughout the first seven years of the new millennium, reaching a height of 228 pipe bands at peak membership in 2006, numbers stagnated in 2007-2009, before beginning a four year decline. In all, there were 48 fewer pipe bands in 2013 than there were in 2006, a loss of more than 21% of the total membership. The Grade I and Grade II pipe band population, which is not shown on Chart IV-C, remains small, but fairly stable, fluctuating from four to nine bands. Grade IV and V bands, which often fluctuate back and forth between the two grades, have declined by more than 16%, from 189 in 2006 to 161 in 2013. Most troubling is the situation with Grade III pipe bands, which have decreased from 32 in 2006 to only 14 in 2013, a decrease of more than 56%.

Solo membership also declined in the EUSPBA, as Chart VII-C shows. These numbers do not include members who are classified as noncompetitors.

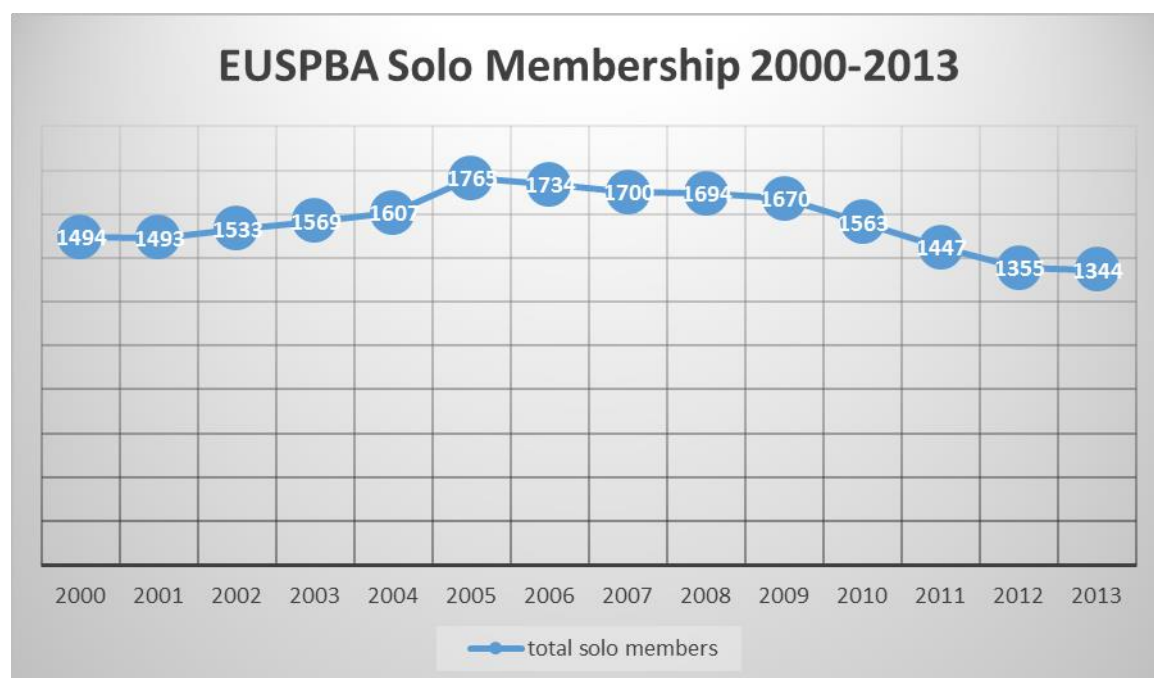


Chart IV-D: Chart showing total EUSPBA solo competing members

Against a total growth of solo bagpiping competitors from 1494 in 2000 to 1765 in 2005, an increase of almost 17%, by 2013 solo competing membership had shrunk to 1344 across all grades, a decrease of almost 24%, bringing the number for 2013 to the lowest in fourteen years. Numbers between grades fluctuate because most competitors attempt to advance through the grading system. An increase in numbers in Grade II, for instance, should negatively impact the numbers in Grade III. Alarming, the lower grades are losing numbers, but not to the higher grades. Although the Professional Grade experienced a slight growth over the preceding fourteen years, every other grade has declined after reaching a peak in various years between 2005 and 2010.

Charts IV-E-H show the membership numbers for solo Grades III-V.

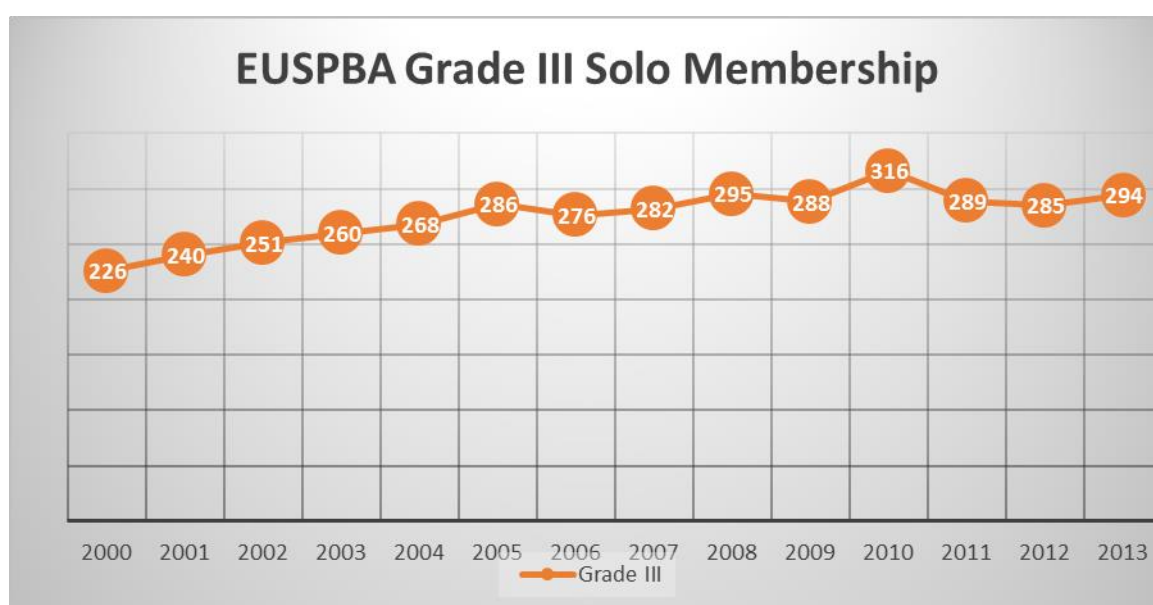
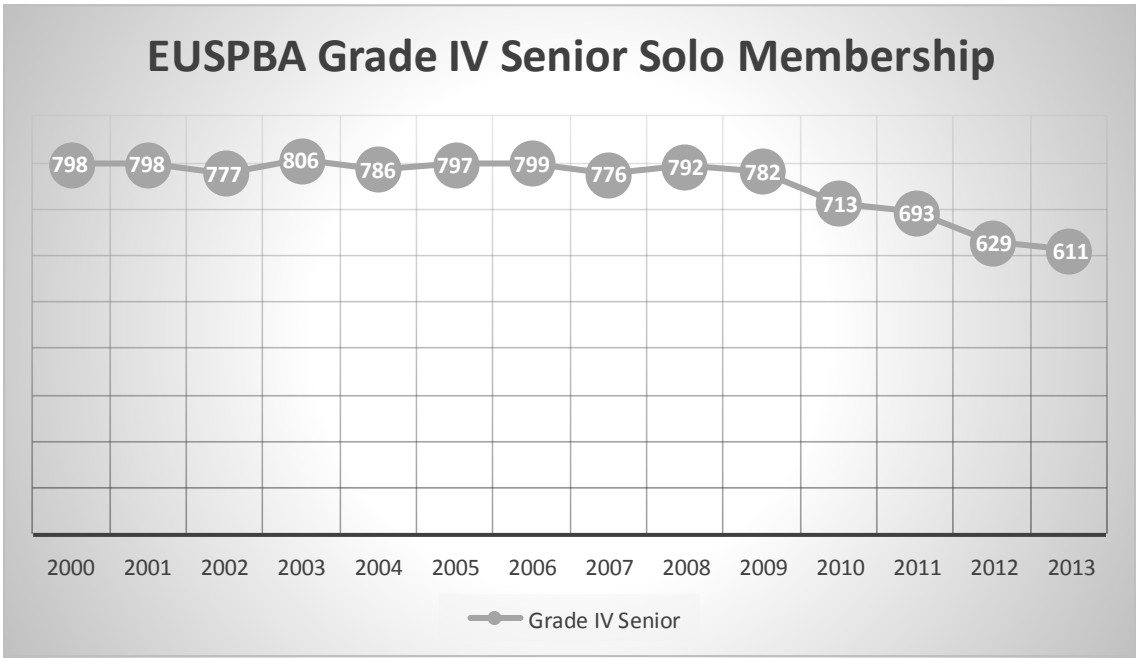


Chart IV-E: Chart showing EUSPBA Grade III solo membership

Despite net growth in the fourteen year period, Grade III declined in years 2011-2013.

The most disturbing losses appear in Grade IV, both Junior and Senior, and Grade V. Grade IV Senior dropped from a high of 799 in 2006 to a fourteen year low of 611, a

decrease of more than 23%. Chart IV-F shows decline in Grade IV Senior



membership.

Chart IV-F: Chart showing EUSPBA Grade IV Senior solo membership

Grade IV Junior fell from 291 in 2005 to 136 in 2013, also a fourteen year low, and an alarming decrease of more than 53%. Grade IV Junior figures are shown in Chart IV-G.

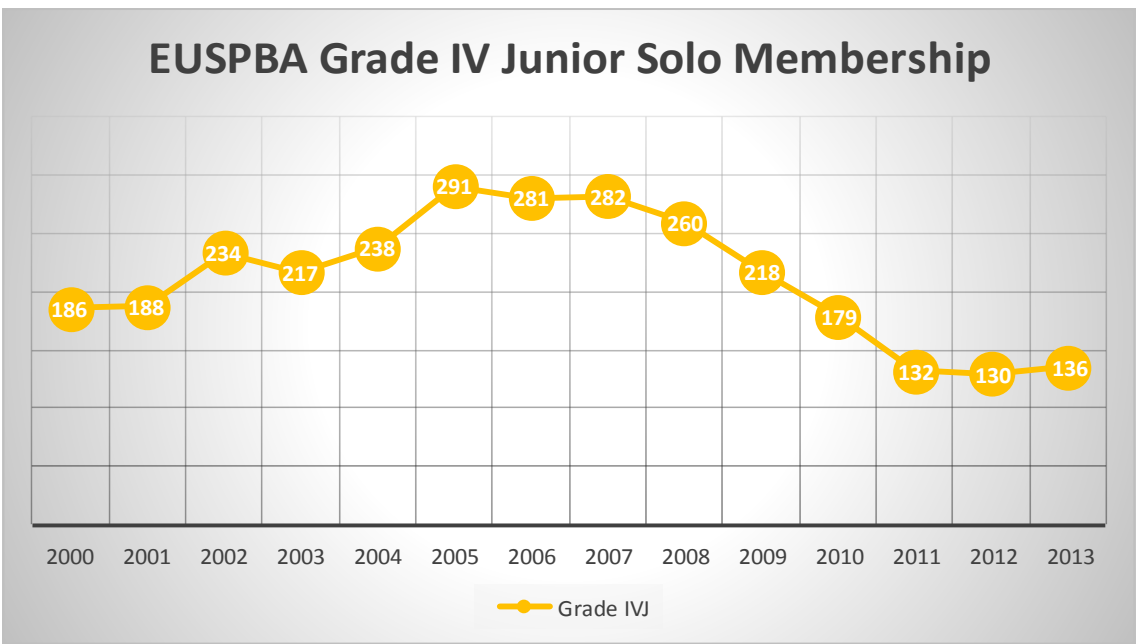


Chart IV-G: Chart showing EUSPBA Grade IV Junior solo membership

Against these losses, Grade III, which should experience growth from competitor upgrades from Grade IV, averaged 290, fluctuating only a small amount each year since 2005, and, as revealed in Chart IV-E, shows an actual decline during the same time period as the significant decline in the lower grades.

Grade V shows the most loss, plummeting from 94 in 2006 to only 32 in 2013, a decrease of 66%. Again, the loss of numbers in Grade V should be made up by a proportional gain in Grade IV, but this is not the case. Chart IV-H shows the decline in Grade V membership.

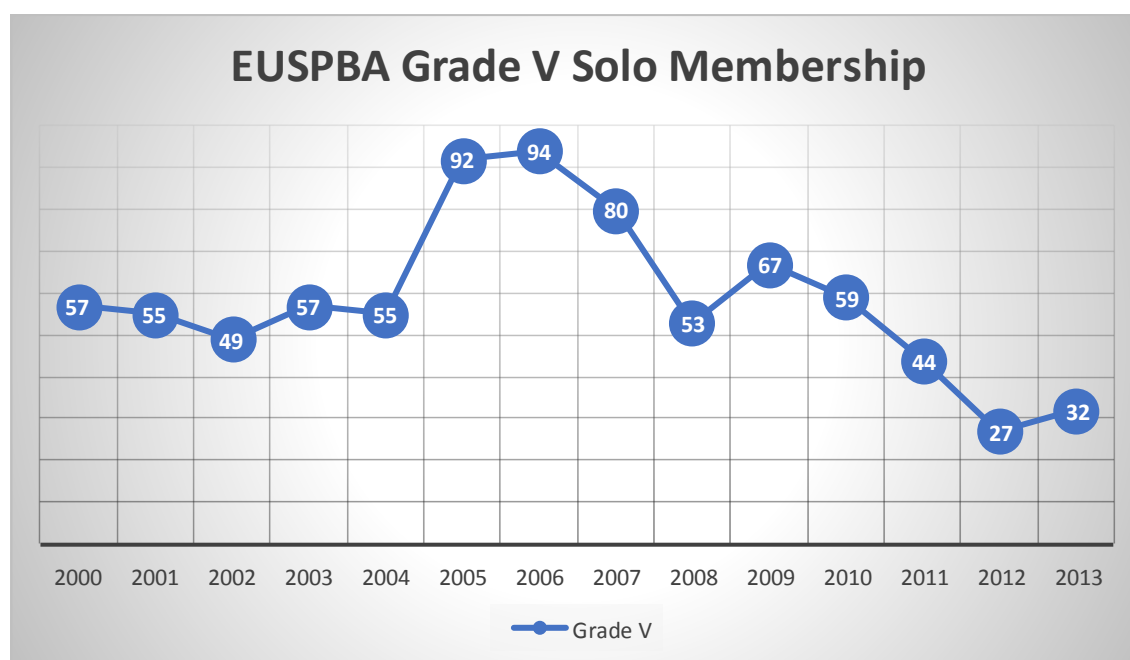


Chart IV-H: Chart showing EUSPBA Grade V solo membership

These disturbing figures must be viewed in light of the historical rise and fall of bagpiping in the United States. Twice since the American Revolution, the fortunes of the GHB rose and fell in the United States. The First Era, during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, came to an end because of the assimilation of Scottish immigrants and second generation Americans of Scottish descent, combined with the bloodshed of the American Civil War. The Second Era, from the late Nineteenth into

the early Twentieth Century, saw a phenomenal rise in popularity of pipe bands and Highland games, ultimately eclipsed by the Great Depression and the Second World War. In both cases, the GHB, a symbol of the larger Scottish-American culture, depended on that culture for its popularity and growth. Following the Second World War, the GHB, for all its importance to a renewed Scottish-American awareness, also became the heart of its own culture and tradition, independent of national origin. Led by an international diaspora of Scottish expatriates, the GHB became a world instrument, at least in the eyes of its players. In the United States, this became the Third Era of bagpiping. While supported by the Scottish-American community, this Third Era has witnessed the emergence of American bagpipers as a separate subculture, marginally tied to the Scottish-American culture by virtue of a common history and common venues, but largely independent of the parent culture for its growth and sustainability. However, if the bagpiping community no longer depends on the Scottish-American culture, and more importantly, if the bagpiping community can no longer depend on the Scottish-American community as its sole patron, what factors will ensure the GHB's growth and perpetuation? Certainly, the Scottish and Scottish-American cultures and communities will always hold an affinity for the GHB, and this sentiment will inevitably translate into support, both financial and sentimental, but if the GHB is to truly take its place on a larger stage, there must be a larger audience to listen.

Audience Consideration

Without an audience, there is no performance. Yet, many bagpipers, seemingly content with such an arrangement, prefer playing for a lone judge at the far corner of a remote field. Rodgers (Fall 1996) describes the problem this way:

One element sorely lacking on the part of players is a sane appraisal of their worth to the general public. We tend to become so wrapped up in

the competition that we forget about the fact that we are also performing—that is fatal to public interest. Our self-generated isolation from the people who ultimately give us our prize money has left precious little to guide us as to what the public wants. We labor under an overinflated sense of importance if we *think* we know; we do not (p.46).

Audience misunderstanding becomes apparent when bagpipers make performance affecting decisions. This is especially true with piobaireachd, as evidenced by the remarks of piper Kevin O'Brien, who views piobaireachd as inappropriate for most public performances, other than when the piper is asked to play as "background music": "Other than that, if I want to play [piobaireachd], it has to be in front of a judge. [Piobaireachd] is not really designed for general audiences. Or, more accurately, general audiences aren't designed to hear piobaireachd" (personal correspondence, November 3, 2013). O'Brien's perspective, typical of many bagpipers who think a non-piping audience will not like piobaireachd, often results in expressions of amazement from bagpipers when piobaireachd performances are well received by listeners (Gordon, 1971, p.43; Kresse, Spring 2005, p.19). Amazement on the part of the Bagpiper that a non-bagpiping audience would enjoy piobaireachd, speaks more of the bagpiping community's self-perception than of audience receptiveness, but pipers play out this pervasive miscomprehension with great frequency, as Gold Medalist Duncan MacGillvray describes a similar experience, when playing a recital for Glenmorangie Scotch. MacGillvray was surprised by a request that he conclude the evening's performance by playing a piobaireachd, but he was even more surprised by the audience's response: "[A]t the end of the 'Desperate Battle,' I explained the tune to everyone. This lady came up... ..and said, 'I've always hated the pipes... ..until tonight.' I really felt that I had achieved something notable" (Kent and Rogers, Winter 2001, p.33). Perhaps with similar positive experiences, bagpipers will begin to play more sophisticated music

than simply “Amazing Grace” and “Scotland the Brave.” While an uneducated audience is less receptive to unfamiliar material, audiences appreciate, respect, and in a conducive environment, eagerly grasp new learning. Unfortunately, at most Highland games, bagpipers typically ignore their audience. Most spectators, even if familiar with GHBs, are not usually bagpipers themselves, often lacking even the most basic knowledge of what transpires at a competition. Audiences often have questions ranging from judging criteria to dress and deportment, but rarely have an informed host to provide answers. Piper Scott Perrier suggests adding more detailed explanations to Highland games programs as one possible solution to enlighten spectators (Winter 2001, p.39).

Not everyone in the bagpiping community agrees on the importance of audience development. Responding to the question of community exposure and increased audience base for pipe bands, Jack Lee states: “I think it’s important. Not essential, but important. I think over the last 40 years [visibility] has declined... But as pipe bands... ...get into interesting Celtic music... ...the profile is definitely rising. I think that’s a great thing. It’s not an essential thing, but it’s a really good thing” (Rogers and McGonigal, Summer 1998, p.39). Many bagpipers take the view that increased audience awareness, while beneficial, remains less important than and peripheral to competition. Nancy Tunnicliffe shares this view, contrasting the current competition system with a non-competitive music festival, suggesting, like Lee, that while an increased audience is desirable, it appears to be by no means vital: “It’s important to draw people in and expose them to different kinds of piping. On the other hand, I really like judging, I have no argument with the competitive system; it is very well set up, and it does foster a certain traditional sequence of achievement” (Neville, Winter 1998, p.27). Tunnicliffe does not suggest that a noncompetitive

GHB music festival and a competitive Highland games cannot exist in the same culture, or even that they must be exclusive of one another. Rather, she appears to imply that generating new audiences, listeners who would not attend a competition but who would enjoy a concert, though important, remains somehow incidental to the growth of the culture.

Competition remains the primary performance venue for bagpipers, and as shown by the previous comments, many bagpipers are content to keep it so. However, not everyone agrees that the insular world of GHB competition should provide the sole, or even primary, venue for bagpiping as an art form. Without calling for the end of competition, teacher and judge Maureen Connor suggests that non-competitive venues benefit audience and performers alike, with the added benefit of improving the performers competitive potential (Fall 2005, p.49).

If the continued growth of bagpiping depends on the creation of new audiences, how can this be accomplished? Many leaders in the bagpiping community support an educational approach to outreach, arguing that the responsibility for educating the non-bagpiping audience lies with the bagpipers themselves (Rogers, Fall 1996, p.46).

Tunncliffe supports these views, adding that the piping community must aggressively promote itself as a legitimate musical field: “We must begin to view ourselves as major players on the world stage of great music, rather than inhabitants of some remote musical backwater. Why shouldn’t *USA Today* cover our major competitions someday soon? No reason at all, except that we ourselves don’t believe that we are that important” (Spring 2002, p.19). Unfortunately, relative to the “world stage” the GHB remains in a “remote musical backwater.” *USA Today* is a national newspaper, and for the vast majority of Americans, amateur GHB competitions

simply do not qualify as news. Unless a way can be found to entice and interest new audiences, listeners who are not bagpipers themselves, but who enjoy, appreciate, and most importantly, understand the music, the GHB is likely to remain a novelty. What can the bagpiping community do to increase interest in the music, the culture, and the art form? This question remains unanswered.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the future of bagpiping in the United States, including strategies for recruitment and obstacles to the expansion of the community. One of the significant and original conclusions I made is that recruitment is often an unconsidered, unplanned activity by bagpipers and pipe bands, and when it does occur, it is often haphazard and random. Recruitment attempts, regardless of the detail, when performed as a purposeful activity, are usually at least marginally successful.

Another observation I made is that there are few obstacles to transmission in the Eastern United States. Of the few significant obstacles, the most difficult to surmount are the extensive geographic distances, which prevents more frequent gathering of the greater bagpiping community, and lack of locally available teachers, which results in inconsistent instruction throughout the country. Although there appears to be no solution to the geographic challenge, qualified teachers are becoming more locally available, and with advances in technology such as Skype, geographic proximity to the teacher no longer blocks qualified instruction.

Misinformation and misconception, from both outside and inside the community form another obstacle to the growth of bagpiping in the United States. Often, misconceptions act to prevent greater expansion of the GHB to non-bagpiping audiences. The most significant misconception comes from the definitions of

amateur versus professional status within the bagpiping community. The word “professional” is used in the bagpiping community, not to designate vocation, but merely to classify competitors who compete for monetary prizes. This significant misconception creates a major obstacle to the development of bagpiping, because it distracts and detracts from the idea of bagpiping as a profession.

Another conclusion I have drawn is, although bias and prejudice continue to exist in the bagpiping community in the United States, these no longer bear significance to the welfare of the culture. Age bias is practically nonexistent, and gender bias is very rare. Insider bias, especially among competing cultures within the bagpiping community is almost unheard of. While there appears to have once been a perception of bias among Scottish judges against Irish influenced music, this no longer occurs. I became a judge in 2001, and I have never encountered this attitude from any of my fellow judges. My perception is that members of the judge’s panel are interested in good music, in whatever style it presents itself. What prejudice does exist largely emanates from outside the bagpiping community, fueled by misconceptions and misunderstanding on the part of outsiders. Sadly, the bagpiping community appears largely disinterested in correcting these misconceptions.

The most significant conclusions I have drawn in this Chapter concern growth trends in Highland games and EUSPBA membership. The last five years have seen alarming decreases in the number of Highland games, and an even more troubling decline in solo and pipe band membership in the EUSPBA.

The last significant observation and conclusion I have made concerns development of new audiences and new venues, and these must be major objectives for the bagpiping community. If the bagpiping community hopes to reverse the

declining trend of fewer Highland games and fewer competitors, increased audience awareness and participation must become a primary goal. Otherwise, the culture risks repeating a history that has already occurred twice before in the United States, declining beyond marginality, to complete insignificance, perhaps even extinction.

In the past, the GHB has always been part of and dependent upon the greater Scottish-American community. Unlike every other age gone by, the future of bagpiping now appears to be in the hands of the bagpipers themselves.

PART II: GHB PEDAGOGY

CHAPTER V: STUDENT ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION

The sheer power of the GHB, and even more so of the pipes and drums in a pipe band, arouses strong, almost primal feelings in many listeners. This phenomenon is certainly borne out in many stories, but what stirs a person's heart to say, "One day, I'm going to learn..."? What is it about the GHB that inspires in the player a desire to take on the cultural trappings of the instrument? This chapter discusses student motivation for learning to play the GHB, and seeks to understand student perspectives on the culture as well as on the new knowledge they receive.

Also of importance to the study of American student motives is the realization that the typical American wants to prove that, despite all odds, he can do something. In fact, from a stereotypical American perspective, the more difficult and improbable the task, the more likely an American would be to rise to the challenge. This attitude applies frequently to pursuits perceived as uncommon or difficult. Robert Wallace observed this attitude in his experiences with students in the United States: "America is a 'can-do' place. People never say, 'I'm too old to do this.' So, you'll get old guys coming up, bent fingers, can hardly move them. ...and if they can get the pipes on the shoulder and crank out Amazing Grace, these guys are happy... I think it's a great credit to the people who do it" (personal interview, March 2, 2011). Although people of all national backgrounds seem to flock to bagpiping, the attitude described here reveals an interesting national characteristic of most Americans, not merely those who take up bagpiping in the United States. Perhaps it is because Americans see themselves as free of cultural restrictions, and free to try new things without fear of failure. Furthermore, Americans often choose

to embrace any culture they desire, regardless of their cultural or ethnic heritage (Crane, 1999, p.iv). So, out of all the possible choices available to them, why do some Americans take up the GHB? In the course of my research, I interviewed or surveyed more than sixty pipers of various ages and experience levels. While not every respondent answered every question, many of the respondents listed more than one motivation for initial learning. Their responses to questions about motivation to learn included: a family connection- a relative played the GHB (twenty six responses); exposure to the GHB through the movies (seven responses); an emotional or wartime experience (thirty seven responses);⁸² connecting with or discovering Scottish cultural identity (twelve responses); and the opportunity to join a group, becoming part of the community (ten responses).

INITIAL INSPIRATION AND MOTIVATION

Scottish-American enculturation and genealogical awareness has been extensively examined (Basu, 2007; Devine, 1999, 2003, 2011; Hague, 2002; Kay, 2006; Nairn, 1977; Ray, 1998, 2001; Sim, 2011; Zumkhawala-Cook, 2005). These writers assert that Scottish-American heritage identity is often initiated and certainly enhanced by such events as Highland games, Tartan Day, movies about Scotland, and, for good or ill, by what Nairn (1977, p.162) calls, "...[T]he Tartan Monster," a commercialization of Scottish heritage. Ray (2001) claims that each of these cultural phenomena, as well as the creation and proliferation of Clan Societies, appeared in the United States at some point after the end of the Second World War (p.77). Tartan Day, perhaps the most recent of these activities, was enacted into law by Congress on

⁸² Here I have included "love of the sound" in "emotional responses." I noted in Chapter 1, as one of my research decisions, I chose not to delve into the aesthetic implications of my respondent's comments in this regard. Thirty one respondents listed "love of the sound" as a primary motivator, without specifically linking the sound to any particular cultural idea, image, or identity.

April 7, 1997.⁸³ Termed “Highlandism,” Devine (1999) describes the cultural identity experience as an attempt to find: “[T]he Scottish past surviving into the present” (pp.241-245). Sim (2011) particularly discusses the thought processes that Americans undergo in their journey towards choosing to identify as Scottish-Americans (pp.115-161). Clearly, these writers present ample evidence that Americans of Scottish descent often become aware of their Scottish heritage through exposure to various Scottish events and experiences. However, while it is one thing to buy a tartan tie and call oneself a Scottish-American, it is another thing altogether to commit the time, energy, and financial resources to learn to play a musical instrument. Crane (1999) found that the single most important motivator in her respondents’ self-identification as Scottish-Americans was an awareness and appreciation of music, but while almost all of her respondents claimed to listen to Scottish music, none of them had taken up the GHB because of their Scottish connections (pp.114-115). As mentioned earlier, none of these writers present any evidence or even appear to consider the extent to which people might take up the GHBs because of prior cultural influences, and in most cases, do not even include the GHB or bagpipers in their findings at all.

Musical identity and its formation has been examined in diverse cultures and environments (Keil & Feld, 1994; MacDonald, Hargreaves, & Miell, 2002; Turino, 2008). Personal musical identity formation is influenced by numerous factors, including age, gender, ethnicity, religion, and national heritage (Folkestad, 2002, p.151). Marsh (2011) found that musical identity formation took place in a variety of formal, informal, and non-formal environments, and was influenced strongly by family and community members (pp.26-31). Koizumi (2011, pp.41-46) found a

⁸³ Retrieved on March 18, 2015 from: <http://www.tartanday.org/about>

strong connection between parental musical tastes and identity and the tastes and identities of their children, as did Borthwick and Davidson (2002, pp.60-78). This formation process was found to be gradual, often growing and changing throughout the life of the performer (Herndon & McLeod, 1981, p.51).

Family Connection

In many cases, students begin to learn because of a family connection, and this was one of the motivating factors for twenty six of my respondents. Like many pipers, Thomas Soergel grew up listening to his father practice, starting lessons when he was seven years old: “My dad had been playing a few years and I wanted to be just like him and play the GHBs myself. I also wanted to play the GHBs because of my Scottish heritage and my love for GHB music” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014). Scott MacDonald, Pipe Major of the LA Scots also shares a story of his father’s impact on his desire to learn: “My father was my biggest influence. My father was a piper in the Cameron Cadets in Winnipeg, and my uncle also played pipes. My grandfather was a kiltmaker from Stornoway. They moved to Canada-Winnipeg-and later a few other guys, started the original LA Scots in 1961” (Connor and McGonigal, 1996, p.21). The family connection is a story that frequently repeats itself, especially if a member of the family is actually a piper, and not merely a member of the Scottish community. Piper Duncan Ballantyne, a native Scot who grew up in Texas, tells of his father’s influence:

My parents came to the US in 1962, dragging me along in my stroller. Our house was about as Scottish as you could get in Texas. I’m not sure when my Dad decided that he wanted to learn to play the GHB... I figured that if a man as ancient as my Dad could play the pipes, I could too (he was ancient to this 12 year old). I was inspired by my Dad in the way he worked so hard to get to a level of pure enjoyment in playing the pipes. He didn’t want to be the best; he just wanted to enjoy the GHB and share it with everyone (personal correspondence, January 29, 2014).

Having a Bagpiper in the house is not required for a connection to occur. Donald Lindsay credits his Scottish father, a non-piper, with sparking his initial interest, recalling that when he was twelve, his father took him to New York City to hear the Scots Guards playing in Madison Square Garden: “It was absolutely one of the most magical experiences of my life” (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring, 1999, p.21). Exposure to the power and majesty of the GHB, especially at an early age, with all of the regimental regalia and fanfare, often sparks a student’s desire to learn, and this was the case with Lindsay:

So I said to him, ‘How do we learn to play the pipes?’ We got a couple of practice chanters and a College of Piping *Tutor*, and we tried to teach ourselves. We got as far as the scale, and started to get into the matter of grace notes, and we just couldn’t figure out what to do. So we got discouraged a little bit. Then, my dad discovered that there was a piper where we lived at that time in Morristown, New Jersey. His name was Bill Morley... We went to Bill for a lesson, and from that point on, things got better and better. (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.21)

Primed by his father’s stories, Lindsay’s excitement at hearing the GHB for the first time exhilarated him, spurring the man who is now a professional competitor, teacher, and judge, into lessons at age twelve.

Movies

Not every Bagpiper is born with a Scottish connection. Seven respondents listed exposure in the movies as one motivating factor in learning. Competitor and teacher Kenton Adler credits Hollywood with igniting his interest in the instrument: “I first saw and heard the GHBs in a movie called ‘*The Buccaneer*’ in 1960, when I was four years old. In the movie, the British Army comes marching through the fog to attack New Orleans with pipers leading the way. I loved the sound from the

moment I heard it” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014).⁸⁴ Competitor and judge Michael Green, former Pipe Major of the Grade One City of Washington Pipe Band, also recognizes Hollywood as his motivator:

Like many of my American piping peers, I came into the pipe band scene by way of movies like *Gunga Din*, *Tunes of Glory*, and *Waterloo*. When I was 10, I wanted nothing more than to be a piper in a Scottish regiment, preferably on the Northwest Frontier or Zululand. The sound of barked commands, rope-tension drums and GHBs that really did skirl (always under enemy fire, of course) made my pre-adolescent blood boil (Spring 2002, p.53).

Although none of my respondents specifically cited the movies referenced by Green, I personally recall a conversation at a College of Piping summer camp held in Dallas in 1972, where several of the attendees credited *Tunes of Glory*, a movie about life in a post-Second World War Scottish regiment, starring John Mills and Alec Guinness, as their initial inspiration for learning to play. Interestingly, although several writers (Hume, 2010, p.85; Ray, 2001, p.231; Sim, 2011, pp.157-158) discuss the apparent boost *Braveheart*, starring Mel Gibson, has added to American interest in Scotland and Scottish activities, none of my respondents even mentioned the movie. Furthermore, since the release of *Braveheart*, and *Rob Roy*, starring Liam Neeson, none of my personal students has ever mentioned either movie as a motivating factor in their desire to learn.⁸⁵ Sean Regan notes that the GHB is only sounded for about 15 seconds in *Braveheart*; in fourteen years of teaching he has never had a student refer to *Braveheart*, and only had one student reference *Rob Roy* as a motivation for learning to play (Regan, S., personal interview, March 15, 2015). As mentioned by Regan, the GHB is almost completely absent from both *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy*, so it is, perhaps, understandable that while Scottish activities in the United States enjoyed a surge in interest, the GHB, being essentially excluded from both movies,

⁸⁴ A clip (retrieved March 23, 2014) of the scene that inspired Adler may be viewed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bsneqE4EjKU>

⁸⁵ *Braveheart* and *Rob Roy* were both released in 1995.

did not receive as much direct benefit. This is not to suggest that no bagpipers credit *Braveheart* or *Rob Roy* as their inspiration; merely that in the course of my current research, none of my respondents specifically pinpointed either of these recent movies as a motivating factor in learning.

Occasionally, beginners come into the culture with somewhat baser motives. Piper Adam Tienello picked up the instrument after attending the concert of a kilt-wearing GHB rock-and-roll group in Florida: “These guys were wearing kilts, and all these cute girls were swooning over them. I was like, ‘No way!’” (Allen, Fall 2011, p.22).⁸⁶

Emotional or Wartime Experiences

Numerous people begin to learn to play the GHB following an emotional experience with the instrument. Stories abound of wartime connections that lead to post-war learning. Thirty seven respondents mentioned emotional or wartime experiences as influencing their decision to learn. Piper Robert Mitchell recalls his father’s story that he first heard the GHB in Italy during the Second World War, and fell in love with the sound (personal correspondence, January 23, 2014). Drummer Randy Sperl tells the story of piper Frank Hudak, who, upon hearing the GHB for the first time, vowed that if he survived the war, he would one day learn to play (Summer 2004, p.12). In contrast to these wartime experiences, piper Timothy Wiley’s first encounter with the GHB was as a young child:

I took up learning to play the GHBs because I plain and simply love the sound of the instrument played well. One of my very first memories, perhaps when I was about four years of age, was going to a Halloween Goblin Walk at a local metro-park, and the most memorable part of the walk for me was that we were joined near the end by a piper. He was silhouetted against the moon on a hill when he

⁸⁶ In November 2013 I conducted a survey of 32 competitors in the EUSPBA to discover their motivation for competition. Two of them responded, only half-jokingly, that it was a great way to meet girls.

struck up and played us the rest of the way through. I was, from that point, in love with this instrument (personal correspondence, January 23, 2014).

Children as Students

GHB teachers are always looking for children as prospective students, but what is it that draws a young person into the culture? As with adults, children take up the GHB for a variety of reasons. The presence of bagpiping in the home is often a motivation for a child's interest. Brothers Graham and Blair Brown both credit their mother Gail Brown's profession as a full-time piping instructor, with getting them started on the drums and their brother Glenn started on the pipes:

GB: It was all that we ever heard really. She was a single mom raising three boys and it was 8 a.m. in the morning you heard GHBs in the house. And 8 p.m. at night you heard GHBs in the house, right?
BB: We actually really didn't get a choice to play pipe or drums. It was, "I'm going to the Highland Games to play so choose pipes or drums because I'm not getting a babysitter" (Carillo, 2012, unpaginated).

Whether or not the GHB is a part of the household, children often appear to be particularly drawn to the sound of the GHB, and this attraction to the musical instrument usually has little or nothing to do with any desire of the student to be a part of a perceived "bagpiping community," especially if the student is not already connected to the larger Scottish culture. Rather, a sense and awareness of community is something students find after they enter the culture. Grade II Competitor Betsy Bethel-MacFarland, former Pipe Major of the Macdonald Pipe Band of Pittsburgh, learned to play the GHB while a part of the school band in Dunedin, Florida, which incorporated the GHB into the larger ensemble. Already taking clarinet lessons, Bethel-MacFarland thought the GHB sounded "...[C]ool — it was unique and it was Scottish, and I knew I had some Scottish and Irish heritage. Once I got started on the chanter, I was hooked. The clarinet was always second fiddle after that" (personal

correspondence, January 21, 2014). Here Bethel-MacFarland, typical of many students, reveals multiple motivations for learning; in her example, once again a fascination with the sound, this time combined with an awareness of cultural heritage. DeAnn Carter was drawn by the sound of a pipe band: “I always wanted to learn. I saw a pipe band when I was eight and told my mom that that is what I wanted to play. I play four instruments and have very recently decided to tackle a fifth. However, I have learned that GHBs are my musical love; my main instrument” (personal correspondence, January 16, 2014).

Highland games organizer Debbie Hahn speaks of the effect of the GHB, describing her son’s initial exposure: “It penetrates the soul. When Thomas was seven, we took him to Grandfather Mountain. He heard the GHB, and he fell in love with the sound” (personal interview, February 5, 2014). Bagpiper Kevin Hendryx, one of the founders of Silver Thistle Pipes and Drums of Austin, Texas, tells of his immediate love of the GHB, when, at the age of sixteen, he bought a record album of the Edinburgh Military Tattoo: “I was absolutely entranced. The sound spoke to my soul. I soon realized that I could learn to play the GHB myself. I HAD to do it, in the same way other people MUST write or paint or play baseball. Pindar said, ‘Become what you are,’ and from age 16 I knew that what I was, who I was meant to be, whatever else, was a piper” (personal correspondence, February 5, 2014). This compelling nature of the GHB appears in the stories of countless bagpipers.

Community Belonging

Professed love for the instrument does not mean a sense of “community” has no draw for a prospective student, only that it is rarely a primary motivator. Although ten respondents listed a sense of community as one of their motivators, none listed it as a sole motivator. Competitor and teacher Susan Ramey Jensen

recalls a combination of motivations which spurred her to learn the GHB: “My reason for learning the pipes was that I thought they sounded really cool, and my high school band played them along with the regular instruments. I saw them when I was in grade school and I vowed I would do whatever it took to get into that group when the time came up for me” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014). As a student who was already involved in a band program, transferring her allegiance to the GHB was a simple matter. She was already a member of the band community, but it must be stressed, the sound of the instrument was her initial motive for learning. Jensen wanted to get into the band so she could learn to play the GHB, not to play the GHB so she could become a member of the band. Interestingly, the phenomenon of joining a marching band does not hold true so much for adults in the United States. Certainly, adults would be familiar with the concept of marching bands through their own school experiences, but there are relatively few adult community bands in the United States, in contrast to many areas of Britain, where the Brass Band movement flourishes. Generally, the concept of continuing music into adulthood is uncommon in the United States, which is particularly strange, considering the enthusiasm with which adults enter the bagpiping community. In fact, the only musical ensemble opportunities generally available on a broad scale to adults in the United States are church choirs, barbershop quartets, and pipe bands, although both barbershop quartets and pipe bands are organized on a more or less national level.⁸⁷

Turning to marching band experiences, once within these groups, many members note the value of community affiliation. As reasons for joining, members of The University of New Hampshire Marching Band listed: a sense of camaraderie

⁸⁷ The Barbershop Harmony Society, founded in 1938, has just under 25,000 active members (<http://barbershop.org>, retrieved, January 3, 2014).

and family created by membership; striving as a team effort toward a common goal; a comfortable and safe way to make new friends; a chance to be mentored and then to mentor; and a built-in social life, all clearly aspects of community, and benefits most students would find when entering a pipe band.⁸⁸ These benefits were listed by students at the university level, many of whom had been in bands since elementary school. Again, the benefits of community appear to be a reason to remain in a pipe band, but this has not been shown to be an initial reason for learning to play.

Adult Beginners

Although many children are drawn to the GHB, as mentioned earlier, a large percentage of American beginning pipers are adults, ranging from early adulthood to retired persons. Although adult education in general is not an exclusively American phenomenon, it is fair to say that the United States is a leader in recreational learning for adults. This is especially true regarding bagpiping.

As with any learner of any age, adults come into a new learning environment for a variety of reasons. Perhaps the least common reason, though still valid, for taking up the GHB, is to give the learner a recreational task to maintain activity in retirement. Dougal MacNeill, retired Principal of the College of Piping, describes this circumstance, and discusses the positive effect of adult learning: “I see a lot of colleagues of mine, who retire, and then they think, ‘Och, well I’ll read a lot,’ but they don’t even read a lot, and then they just subside into a ‘go for their paper in the morning,’ and it’s tragic. You really need something, no matter how old you are, to keep you going and interested” (Personal interview, March, 3, 2011). The sentiment expressed by MacNeill, of course, applies to learning in general, not exclusively to learning the GHB. The United States, with its aging population enjoys an increasing

⁸⁸ Retrieved January 3, 2014: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BO6k370ke64>

number of adult learning opportunities formulated throughout various learning environments. One program, Elderhostel, also known as “Road Scholars,” founded in New Hampshire in 1974, now claims a worldwide presence with programming on every continent, and touts “educational adventures in lifelong learning.”⁸⁹

MacNeill continues, noting the positive interaction achieved through intergenerational experiences, sharing his observations teaching at American summer schools, noting the openness and cooperation often found at these events:

I always take the beginners class, and you’re getting a dozen mixed, and they are from ten years old to 60 years old. The first day, they’re all sitting about, and sort of eyeing each other up, and maybe Walter is 10 years old, and Sandy is mid-60s, but by the third day, there’s no age difference! (laughs) It’s really fascinating. And the boy of 10 will be saying, “Now, Sandy, you’ve got it wrong. It’s this way.” And they accept it, because by that time, they’re all in this activity (personal interview, March, 3, 2011).

The mindset of American adult learners fascinates many Scottish teachers. Gold Medalist Robert Wallace, Principal of the College of Piping, speculates on the American motivation for learning to play the GHB as an adult: “In America, though, it seems it’s kind of a life ambition they can only start to realize it when they retire, when they’ve got time to do it.” (personal interview, March 4, 2011). Wallace draws a distinction between American adult beginners and the typical Scottish adult learner. In contrast to their American counterparts, who have likely never previously taken GHB lessons, Wallace suggests that most Scottish adult learners are returning to an instrument they learned initially as children, noting that very few Scots take up the GHB for the first time as adults (personal interview, March 4, 2011). In addition to comparing Scottish and American adult learners, Wallace also reveals a tolerance of a philosophy of playing pipes purely recreationally. Apart from competitive

⁸⁹ Retrieved May 15, 2014 from: <http://www.roadscholar.org/>

success, there can be value in playing for personal satisfaction and the simple joy of making music.

The growth of the EUSPBA Grade IV Senior Grade, restricted to entry level players age 18 and older, evidences the rise in popularity of the GHB among adult beginners in the United States. In Scotland, however, most solo competitions appear to be restricted only by age into juvenile (under eighteen) and professional (over eighteen) events, without consideration given to adult beginners. There are exceptions, but these are few. One exception in Scotland is the College of Piping, where in-house competitions, which were begun by Thomas Pearston, are regulated by ability grade levels based on proficiency exams (MacNeill, personal interview, March, 3, 2011). These competitions appear to be confined to the College of Piping and to students of that program, rather than a national movement of graded competitions that include adult beginners. Interestingly, while the RSPBA supports two Juvenile Grade pipe band competitions, there are no dedicated Juvenile pipe band events, or even a Juvenile Grade, in the EUSPBA.

Once inside the community, adults have certain advantages over children in learning, including motivation, organization, and initially, size, which often helps in tonal production (Lenz, Winter, 2005, p.51). To a small extent, life skills such as time management skills can compensate for stiff fingers.

Certainly, the adult learner phenomenon in the United States is one of the peculiarities that distinguishes the development of bagpiping in America from that of Scotland. What long-term effect, if any, the adult learning phenomenon will have on the standard and future of bagpiping in the United States, remains to be seen.

OTHER REASONS TO PLAY

Ethnic Awareness

Americans take up new hobbies for myriad reasons. One of the many motivations for pursuing the GHB appears to stem from a desire to revive one's ethnic awareness, and this was listed as a motivating factor by twelve responses. MacCannell (1976, p.10) asserts that all people desire a deeper connection with society and culture to some degree, and many attempt to do this by connecting with their own cultural heritage. Researcher Tara Crane (1999, p.iv) found a general revival in ethnic interest by third generation descendants of their original cultural heritages, and this interest was not limited to Scottish-Americans. Speaking specifically about Scottish-Americans, Robert Wallace describes his perception of the American adult learner's sentiments on ethnic revival:

If he can get the pipes, because he's starting from zero, and suddenly he goes home to his wife and he's in his basement playing his tune, and he's got a kilt on, and some photograph of Loch Lomond up on the wall, which is some relative that goes back maybe three or four generations, maybe more, but he's done the research on his family and he feels that he's paid homage to that background that he has, that bloodline that he has in his family, he's fulfilled that need, somehow (personal interview, March 4, 2011).

One adult who learned to play the GHB because of an awakening ethnic awareness, Hilton McLaurin, of Lubbock, Texas, whose ancestor, Hugh McLaurin, a piper, immigrated to the United States in the late Eighteenth Century, cites a desire to renew his family's cultural connection to bagpiping as a motivating factor in learning to play: "I wanted to bring [bagpiping] back into the family. Our son Patrick plays, and hopefully his kids will also" (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014).

Bagpiper Peter Soergel, another adult learner, also claims a Scottish heritage, despite his obviously German surname: "My family (mother's side, of course) is from Scotland (the Lowlands) and were connected to William Wallace. So there was a lot

of Scottish heritage in my family. We had some GHB music that we listened to. There was talk at family reunions about Scottish heritage” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014). Soergel’s choice to connect with his Scottish roots, rather than his German ancestry, was a result of a strong Scottish interest by the Scottish side of his family, but more so, he claims, because he, “...simply loved the sound of the GHB” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014).

If Americans of Scottish descent can have varying reasons for taking up the GHB, certainly Americans without direct Scottish cultural or historical ties are likely to have even more varied motives for entering into the culture. One question often posed by audiences of pipers is whether the player is Scottish, or if not, if he is of Scottish ancestry. The next question asked is how the piper became interested in playing. Most of them claimed simply to have loved the sound.

Susan Ramey Jensen, who was drawn to the GHB by the sound, claims no Scottish heritage: “My mom said we had ‘Scotch-Irish’ in our ancestry but all I have found is German, Swiss and Welsh. I figure that if I do have some of that ‘Scotch-Irish’ in me (does Welsh count? haha) that it might have something to do with my love of the instrument. Other than that, I can’t really relate anything to the country of origin” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014).

David Hoffman began playing pipes at age eleven. He describes his decision to learn to play the GHB: “I wanted to play an instrument and the GHB was the first thing to come into my mind. I tried out the piano, and I just couldn’t get into it. I had heard the pipes three or four times before I started playing it, and I really liked the sound” (personal interview, October 12, 2012). David, age eighteen at the time of his interview, thinks his ethnic background is German and Irish, or perhaps Scotch-Irish, although he isn’t sure, and he also is not sure what the term “Scotch-Irish”

means. He has simply heard his mother referencing the term, and seems to have no immediate interest in researching his ethnic heritage. David's experience seems to be typical of many young American students. When asked about his views on Scottish culture, especially the wearing of the kilt, Hoffman had this to say: "I never even thought about it. I enjoy wearing a kilt. After I perform, people often ask me what I wear under the kilt. I tell them, 'shoes and socks (laughing).' But I don't play the pipes because I wear the kilt. I wear the kilt because I play GHBs" (personal interview, October 12, 2012).

As a child, Timothy Wiley was not aware of any Scottish heritage, but was drawn to the GHB by its sound:

It had nothing to do with culture or heritage or familial pride, just a primal joy that the music of the GHB invoked in me, but such was the attraction to the sound of the GHBs that my interest never waned. I can remember a record my parents bought when I was very young of the Black Watch that I would ask them to play until it disappeared, and I would strain to the front whenever a GHB band passed by on parade (personal correspondence, January 23, 2014).

Throughout their stories, bagpipers speak of the sound of the instrument inexorably compelling them to become bagpipers.

Cultural Immersion

Discovering one's cultural identity has been shown to enrich a person's understanding of self, through a connection with his family and heritage (Crane, 1999; Kaplan, 2007). This is especially true in the United States, where the American cultural "melting pot" often disguises and dilutes a person's ethnic history. Americans typically appear to be proud of their multi-ethnic backgrounds, often citing their diverse ancestry with pride. Having been exposed initially to the Scottish culture, awareness and understanding of the depth of that culture can be brought about through cultural immersion, a growing ethnic consciousness brought about

through ethnic education, socialization and involvement, which can take place gradually throughout the individual's lifetime (Crane, 1999, p.3). As the individual's immersion in the culture deepens, perception of and participation in the culture evolves. Symbols, especially material symbols initially considered vital to cultural identity and participation lose their relevance as cultural identity becomes internalized (Crane, 1999, p.v). DeAnn Thomas, a Grade II piper in Utah, states: "I recently had a period where I felt Scottish 'stuff' was overtaking my identity. I am more than Scotland, tartan, and GHBs. I don't need to bleed tartan and be all things Scottish every second, every level. That being said, I'm still a Bagpiper" (personal correspondence, December 13, 2104). Here Thomas echoes the sentiments of many long-term members of the bagpiping community.

People enter into the bagpiping culture through a variety of avenues. Some are essentially born into it because of parents who, if not actually bagpipers themselves, are at least of Scottish heritage and active in Scottish culture. Others come into the bagpiping culture via another aspect of the general Scottish culture. For these individuals, playing the GHB might be considered an extension of, or a deepening understanding of, their Scottish culture and heritage (Crane, 1999, pp.4-5). However, "being Scottish" is not always an important consideration to pipers.

A large number of American pipers can trace their roots back to Scotland or Ireland, but for many of them, the peripheral icons of the greater Scottish culture do not appear to be of great importance. When bagpipers attend Burns dinners, they typically do so, not because they love Burns poetry and music, but because they are being employed to play the GHBs. bagpipers attend Highland games to compete in solo bagpiping and pipe band competitions, not to watch the athletic events, and certainly not to participate in the genealogical studies available at the clan tents.

Many of the chief proponents of Scottish culture embrace the kilt as a vital accoutrement of Scottish heritage. Highland dancer and teacher James L. Mackenzie was one of these early leaders who brought Highland dancing to the United States. One of MacKenzie's students, Highland dancer Hugh Bigney recalls Mackenzie describing the meaning and importance of wearing the kilt, and of instilling in Bigney: "...[A] respect for the Scottish heritage, for the kilt, for the costume, for the art, for the culture" (Donaldson, 1986, p.153). The effect of Mackenzie's enthusiasm was profound, as Bigney reflects: "And I thought, 'If only I could be like that man, as energetic, to have that love of what Scottish dancing was about: the love of the Scottish heritage'" (Donaldson, 1986, p.153). Bigney's recollections illustrate not only the importance of the kilt as a cultural identifier, but also the importance of the student-teacher relationship in inspiring and influencing a love of culture.

In the United States, most people who are not Scottish or of Scottish descent, who become pipers, are not really attempting to become a part of Scottish culture, even if they think that is what they are doing at first. Rather, they are becoming part of a world community of Scottish bagpiping. A piper can achieve "total belonging" in the Twenty-First Century bagpiping community, which is different from the Scottish cultural community and very different from traditional cultural perceptions. Admittedly, pipers will be exposed to the larger culture and history of Scotland, if only through the geographical and historical triptych of traditional GHB music. They are likely to do at least nominal research to attempt to discover a blood connection to a clan. They might even develop an enjoyment of Burns poetry and single malt scotch. However, these fringe interests are secondary to immersion in the bagpiping community, the trappings of which in reality are pipe bands and competition. Against the relative few who begin their journey as identity seekers, the larger body

of initiates claim to be drawn simply by the raw sound of the GHBs, without ascribing any conscious semiotic significance to their attraction to the instrument. Of the few who start out as “identity seekers,” most become primarily bagpipers, retaining only a secondary connection to the Scottish-American culture, even if they are unconscious of their own changed self-perception or of their own transformation into musicians.

Societal Inclusion

In the United States, a person has the freedom to choose his own pastime, hobbies, and interests. Likewise, in most cases, cultural opportunities are not limited to one’s own native culture. Rather, Americans may adopt virtually any culture they choose. However, cultural immersion and societal inclusion are two different things. Acceptance into any given culture is often not so much taken as given. Cultural and ethnic groups often have their own internal restrictions and taboos, which frequently limit an outsider’s access to those cultures. As an example, some Native American tribes in particular frequently exclude non-members from attending functions, and rarely invite outsiders to become members themselves (Densmore, 1942; Diamond, 2008; Lornell, 2012)⁹⁰. With more than 550 distinct indigenous groups, Native American tribes are small minorities, many of which are exceptionally exclusive, and most of which justifiably fear cultural dilution, if not extinction (Diamond, 2008, p.3-9). This cultural exclusion is far from universal, as demonstrated by the growing number of Native American musical groups appearing in various popular music charts (Schulman, 2002; Samuels, 2009). Viewing outsider exclusion as a matter of survival, many of these groups demonstrate a concept similar to marginal survival of

⁹⁰ Frances Densmore did groundbreaking work among numerous Native American tribes in the early days of American ethnomusicological study. She reports one story of a Chippewa medicine man who was ostracized from the tribe for recording songs for Densmore (1942, pp.529-530).

diaspora cultures, except in this case, the indigenous population has been overpowered by the immigrants (Schulman, 2002, p.120). This is also the practice within other ethnic communities, especially diaspora communities, who often exclude outsiders in an effort to avoid “cultural pollution” (Harrison, 1999, p.10).

Scottish-Americans, on the other hand, have no fear of cultural extinction. Rather, the pervasive view in Scottish-American culture is, “the more, the merrier.” This view is held doubly so in the Scottish-American bagpiping community. However, certain obstacles to growth, such as age and gender bias, examined in Chapter IV, while rare, have not completely disappeared.

The occasional cultural obstacle and traditional roadblock aside, most Scottish-Americans, as well as most pipe bands, enthusiastically embrace new members. This enthusiasm stems from a variety of motivations. Cultural perpetuation and growth is considered by most to be a positive goal. Cultural preservation, as compared to perpetuation, is also important. Crane describes her familial role in the process of cultural preservation. Reflecting on her interaction with her grandfather, one of the participants in her study, Crane recalls: “...[H]e made me the keeper of our family history” (1999, p.iii). Pipers often become keepers of a collective history, because the very repertoire of the GHB presents a cultural history of Scotland and of Scots throughout the world. Scottish-Americans in general, and especially enculturated Scottish-Americans, tend to be mindful of their history and tradition, the general aim being to expand and deepen the knowledge and awareness of the culture (Basu, 2007, p.185). Pipers typically gain this knowledge and awareness almost unconsciously as a byproduct of their musical studies.

Acceptance by others is important to many people. When entering into a foreign culture, new members often take the desire for acceptance to an extreme

level. When The Murray Pipes and Drums of Gothenburg, Sweden chose their name, their desire was to become as “Scottish” as they could, in the process contacting the Duke of Atholl to request a patronage, which he granted (Hermansson, 2003, p.151). By granting the band a patronage, the Duke of Atholl included them in the larger Scottish Society, welcoming them into the bagpiping macro-community, at the same time bestowing upon them a measure of self-perceived authenticity. This gracious example of inclusion is a common thread throughout Scottish, and especially Scottish-American culture.

On the other hand, while the GHB will perhaps be forever affectionately linked with Scotland, the example above provides further evidence that the Scottish bagpiping community is now part of a larger worldwide community dedicated to the music of what is now in many respects a world instrument. This worldwide community can be seen most apparently at events such as the World Pipe Band Championship, held annually in August in Glasgow, Scotland. Although the preponderance of pipe bands are Scottish, bands represent all countries of the former British Empire, the United States, and almost every country in Europe. There are often even representatives from countries such as Jordan, Pakistan, Egypt, and Brazil, and these are enthusiastically and warmly received at the event. As the GHB continues to grow in international popularity, the direct cultural connection to Scotland diminishes, at least in the minds of the players.

It must be stressed, however, that these several examples of societal inclusion emanate from the group to the individual entering the community, not because of a primary conscious desire on the part of the newcomer to be affiliated with the group for the sake of affiliation (Shelemay, 2011). Rather, affiliation and inclusion are

most often pleasant, but unintended byproducts of the joining the bagpipers community.

If one can be included in a society or culture, it naturally follows that one can also be excluded from, or isolated within, a culture.⁹¹ Examples of exclusion usually appear to result from an overenthusiastic adherence to the letter of tradition rather than the true spirit of the culture. For instance, some pipe bands imitate the male-only membership requirements of the Scottish regimental pipe bands. However, Scottish military pipe bands were not male-only because the band wished to exclude females, but rather because the British Army was a male-only organization. The larger society, the British military, not the pipe band, was the exclusionary organization, and the intent of the exclusion was not to discriminate against women, but to protect women from the horrors of the battlefield.

Another type of exclusion is that of self-exclusion, or isolation within the community. Here an individual or band will stand apart from the norms of society, essentially excluding themselves from the greater community. For instance, there are numerous examples of non-competing pipe bands throughout the United States, such as Shriners' pipe bands and many police and firefighters' bands.⁹² Such groups are often referred to as "street bands" or "parade bands" as a designation of their primary performance focus. "Street bands," like competitive bands, vary greatly in the quality of musical production. "Street bands" frequently stand apart from the larger Scottish pipe band community, and indeed, from the greater Scottish culture, instead forming their own internal societies. One of the few pipers who uncharacteristically crosses the boundary between street band and competition band is David Flaherty, a competing solo Bagpiper and competition band member, who also serves as the Pipe

⁹¹ Examples of age and gender discrimination and exclusion are presented in Chapter VII as obstacles to the growth of the culture.

⁹² The Shriners are a fraternal organization within American Freemasonry.

Major of the Erepa Grotto Pipe Band of Erie, Pennsylvania, a fraternal pipe band affiliated with Freemasonry. Flaherty notes that fraternal pipe bands especially create their own society separate from the Scottish community, performing many non-bagpiping activities, such as charitable community work, for which Shriners' units are well known, to the exclusion of competitive endeavours:

This becomes a chicken and egg situation where one could ask, "Do Shrine bands not compete because their primary objective is to be a charitable group, or do Shrine bands do so much for charity because they want to be an active band but don't have a difficult repertoire, Highlands Games, etc..., to keep them occupied?" (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014).

Because of the lack of interaction between the isolated bands and the mainstream GHB community, each side often views the other with suspicion and sometimes derision. That a perceived difference often exists in the quality of performance between "competition" pipe bands and "street" bands widens the gulf. Street bands often pay less attention to objective aspects of GHB performance, such as unison of execution, tuning, and disregard of embellishments, while these factors are paramount to competing bands. Street bands, on the other hand, often take pride in having a large repertoire, which enables them to play a wide range of simple tunes in parades. Competing bands deride street bands for poor musical presentation, and noncompetitive bands make fun of the "professionals." When Flaherty expressed interest in competing, he met with unexpected animosity from his fellow band members, none of whom had ever actually been members of a competition band:

Older members would get red in the face with anger! Competing bands only played their "one competition set," and didn't know any other music. Competition bands didn't have any morale. They were too serious, didn't have any fun, and would get yelled at by the PM at every practice. Needless to say, competition didn't sound like a good time (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014).

Despite misgivings, Flaherty attended his first competition band practice. Describing his first encounters with the competitive group, Flaherty recalls, “Practice was fun, the members got along, and we did play more than just our “one set,” though we would focus far more on the competition set than any other” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014). Following his early encounters, Flaherty began to improve, because he was now being taught, “...[A] different group of ideals than I had learned at the Grotto. Suddenly, playing embellishments was important. Playing on the beat and keeping steady tempo was a must, and I had to tune myself when I played alone, a feat I rarely worried about before. These were no longer suggestions, but rules” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014). Flaherty brought his newfound enthusiasm back to his home band, but was met with disdain: “People would say things like, ‘Well if that’s what’s important to you,’ or, ‘If that’s what you want to do.’ Play well? Yes, that’s important, and that’s what I want to do” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014). Because of his exposure to a competition band, Flaherty was transformed into a competing Bagpiper. However, rather than leave the Erepa Grotto Pipe Band, he remained with it in an attempt to convert the other members. In this endeavor, Flaherty has been unsuccessful: “In short, Shrine bands don’t compete because they’re not designed to. They’ve built up a band opinion against it, designed large repertoires that don’t include any set worked hard enough for competition, and dedicate much band time towards activities outside of piping. Furthermore they take pride in *not* competing” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014). Flaherty suggests that converting a Shrine band to a competing band would require a complete overhaul of the membership. New members who want to compete would have to join, while current members who are adamantly against

competition would have to leave. Flaherty states, “It’s easier to simply create a new band that competes” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014).

If street bands hold misconceptions of competition bands, the opposite is no less true. Because competition bands perceive that street bands subscribe to lower performance standards as defined by such factors as unison of playing, tuning, tone, and other musically quantifiable performance components, compared to the accepted ideals advanced by the acknowledged leaders of the competitive GHB community in Scotland, competition bands almost uniformly hold a condescending attitude toward Shrine bands. The common perception of competition bands is that street bands have no interest in improving. Flaherty argues that this opinion is unfair. Describing the street band’s self-perception, Flaherty states: “I believe most street bands work as hard as competition bands, or at least think they do, but they don’t get the same results in the level of their play. This could be because of a multitude of reasons: different levels of leadership; practice style; overall goals of the band” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014). The street band is not necessarily apathetic or ambivalent toward musical development, but because of the reasons cited by Flaherty, they do not achieve the quality of performance expected among competition bands, and they fear making fools of themselves in front of an informed bagpiping audience: “They know they’re not at the level of competition bands, so they simply swear off competing” (personal correspondence, January 1, 2014). For their part, the typical competition band seems to be embarrassed by the very existence of street bands. Sadly, this attitude, which can be traced from both sides to the perception of the importance of competition in the wider community, causes even more animosity. Furthermore, the perceived gap between street bands and competition bands is often not as wide as the bands think it is. The street band’s

repertoire is usually not appreciably larger than that of the competition band, and the competition band, especially in the lower grades, is often not that much better tuned than the street band.

The Tartan and the Kilt

While this thesis is not intended to dwell on semiotics, no discussion of bagpiping would be complete without mention of the history, development, and importance of the kilt. Just as the GHB and the kilt are considered to be joint icons of the greater Scottish culture, the kilt is an integral aspect of the bagpiping culture in the United States, and is considered by most people, whether insiders, casual listeners, or completely disconnected to the bagpiping community, to be a required component of pipe bands and solo bagpipers in the United States.

Although many specific tartan patterns are Nineteenth Century inventions, several notable tartans are at least several centuries old, first mentioned in Scotland in the 1530s (Trevor-Roper, 2008, p.195). Cheape (2010) claims the earliest fragment of tartan has been traced to the Third Century (p.16). Pittock (2010) discredits much of Trevor-Roper's assertions, arguing, along with Cheape, that the kilt and the tartan are ancient in origin, reaching back at least to the late Seventeenth Century (pp.33-41). Admitting that the tartan has been the subject of much research and controversy, Barnes (1956) identifies the tartan set worn by the Black Watch as the so-called "Government tartan" (pp.52-53). Barnes notes that the troops of General Wade wore this specific dark coloured tartan as early as 1667 (1956, p.50). This tartan earned the regiment the "...[N]ickname of 'am Freiceadan Dubh,' the Black Watch, in contrast to 'Saighdearan Dearg' (the) red soldiers" (Barnes, 1956, p.50). He goes on to say that the "Black Watch" tartan, which became one of the oldest tartans in existence due to the loss of many of the clan tartans as a result of the

Act of Proscription, is now considered to be the national tartan of Scotland (Barnes, 1956, p.53). While the Black Watch tartan is indeed one of the most popular and recognized tartans in existence, appearing on everything from tartan ties to flannel shirts, Barnes errs in his statement concerning the loss of the clan tartans. Certainly, the Act of Proscription forbade, among other things, the wearing of Highland dress, although the law was not uniformly applied throughout the Highlands (Devine, 1999, p.46). Most clans at the time of the Jacobite Rebellion are not thought to have had a specific family tartan (Trevor-Roper, 2008, p.201). As for the kilt itself, well-tailored and smart, as it is known today, it was invented, ironically, by an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, sometime around 1730 (Trevor-Roper, 2008, p.198).

Providing a means of connection to the past, as well as serving as icons of cultural identity, Hume (2010) asserts the kilt and the tartan are interchangeable components of material culture (p.90). To non-bagpipers members of the Scottish-American community, the kilt, along with the tartan, provides an important cultural identifier (Crane, 1999, p.93). To Scottish expatriates, the kilt and the tartan offer a tangible link with home, a: "...[S]ymbol of the identity they had left behind in their 'unchanging homeland'" (Munro, 2010, p.182).

Often, in their enthusiasm to become part of the culture, new converts to the bagpiping community might purchase the external trappings of the culture, specifically a kilt and a set of pipes. Sometimes this desire to embrace the Scottish culture produces comical applications. Hermansson recounts a story told by one of his respondents, who spoke of "...[I]ndividuals who rode on a bicycle from Amager, dressed in the kilt, to Gladsaxe, a distance of about fifteen to twenty kilometers, and then they arrived there in kilts and took out their peculiar GHBs and tried to make

them sound in one way or another, and then they cycled all the way back, still wearing the kilt. We found that strange” (2003, p.276). Strange, indeed.

The American experience differs dramatically from Scandinavia largely because, unlike the Scandinavians, who did not have immediate local access to knowledgeable mentors, the Scottish bagpiping culture arrived in America in the hands of immigrant Scots who knew what the culture was supposed to sound like, as well as look like. The methods a new convert uses to become a part of the culture are informed by his initial understanding of that culture, as well as by the guidance of mentors.

To most people, the kilt is as much a part of a Bagpiper’s performance as the GHB. Although pipers do not typically wear a kilt unless they are performing, most pipers could relate a story of being approached while in transit to or from a performance by someone who asks if he is a piper. This experience is true for many people in the Scottish-American culture who wear kilts, whether or not they play the pipes. Hermansson, pointing out the universal connection between the GHB and the kilt, states it thus: “For instance, not every man or woman dressed in formal evening dress is mistaken for someone who has escaped from a symphony orchestra” (2003, p.341). It should be noted that the kilt has gained popularity in the United States, especially as formal wear, and though uncommon, it is no longer a rarity to see a man in a kilt, even though he might not be a Bagpiper.

In addition to the kilt as a distinct garment, the British military has contributed to the visual representation of the piper through the uniform of the various Regimental Pipes and Drums. Teacher and judge Al McMullin comments about the value of learning the history of the development of piping worldwide: “There’s GHBs and British-type beer all over the world, and there are people all over

playing the pipes. The Gurkhas; in Pakistan; in India, there are pipe bands” (personal interview, July 31, 2011).

Romanticism magnifies the mystique of the pipe band, and by association, the entire Scottish culture. Hermansson observes the effect of the uniform and the perceived Scottish culture impacted early pioneers of the emerging Scandinavian pipe band tradition to such an extreme degree that some of the early pipe bands, in an attempt to mimic British military customs, arranged dinners, roleplaying a scenario of “jolly good Scottish Army,” with the beginners serving the advanced players (2003, p.206). This type of role-playing behaviour commonly appears in re-enacting societies and groups. Re-enactors typically choose a historic time period, and through research and practice, reenact that time period as a hobby. During re-enacting events, participants voluntarily assume roles which place themselves artificially in subjection to other re-enactors. Various groups have an established policy for the hierarchical structure of the group. This is no different from a fraternal organization such as the Masons, who will voluntarily place themselves in subjection to a person of higher “rank” within the organization. However, this is not the practice of American pipe bands. Band members do not place themselves in subjection to any other member of the band, other than from a musical perspective to the Pipe Major or lead drummer, and this is a musical, rather than a cultural, distinction.

Within the American bagpiping culture the issue of uniform rarely plays a major part in the development of a pipe band, and is often a source of perceived recreation within the group, with band members researching prospective choices for uniform. Sometimes the tartan is chosen because of the name of the band. The Macdonald Pipe Band of Pittsburgh, for instance, wears the ancient MacDonald

tartan. Other times, the selection is more whimsically made. The “Kilts of Many Colours Pipe Band” of New Orleans, Louisiana, chose their band’s name because each member wanted to select his own tartan (Brownlee, personal interview, January 5, 2013). Although the EUSPBA makes no such requirement, in American piping, solo competitors are usually required by the various Highland games to wear Highland dress in order to compete. Often, “street bands” are more concerned with outward appearance than with musical quality, although it would be unfair to suggest that all noncompeting bands are concerned with appearance instead of or to the exclusion of musical considerations.

Regardless of the views of a particular piper or pipe band concerning the importance of appearance, the thought that a pipe band, or even a solo piper, would perform in something other than a kilt, is almost unheard of in the United States. Nevertheless, the GHB is increasingly considered by insiders to be simply a musical instrument rather than a “Scottish” musical instrument, even though tradition still plays a role in the presentation of the music (Wallace, personal interview, March 2, 2011).

How non-Scottish bagpipers view themselves leads to the question of how Scots view non-Scots. Bond (2006) found Scots’ acceptance of non-native Scots varied based on criteria such as country of origin, race, accent, and heritage. While these factors were found to influence Scots’ perceptions, of equal importance to these perceptions was the non-Scot’s self-perception-if the non-Scot viewed himself as a Scot, the Scot was likely to accept that self-perception (Bond, 2006, p.623).⁹³ Seumas MacNeill, founder and first principal of the College of Piping in Glasgow, stated:

“When people who are not Scots want to learn to play the GHB, I feel that they pay

⁹³ Interestingly, native Scots whose parents were both Scottish were found to be 22% more likely to accept non-white non-native Scots who self-identified as Scots as also being “Scottish” than they were to accept native born English who self-identified as Scots.

us a big compliment. I am not sure why they want to learn, and I am often asked this question” (Hermansson, 2003, p.202). Seumas MacNeill is regarded by many as one of the leaders in teaching non-Scots on an international basis. An enthusiastic Scottish nationalist, MacNeill acted as an ambassador for the Scottish bagpiping culture. Continuing with his comments about non-Scots adopting the culture, he stated: “If in addition they want to wear our Highland dress, I feel that this too is a compliment, and I admire their courage” (Hermansson, 2003, p.202). My experience as a native-born Texan of Irish, Manx, and English extraction has been that Scots, especially those living in Scotland, appear pleased by my adoption of their culture. As an example, the only times I have ever been challenged as to my “right” to wear a kilt has been by third or fourth generation Americans of dubious Scottish descent.

The Concept of “Homeland”

Throughout much of the current literature surrounding Scottish culture in the United States, the concept of “homeland” appears as a recurring theme (Basu, 2007; Chhabra, 2001; Devine, 1999, 2003, 2011; Hunter, 1994; MacGregor, 1980). Understandably looked upon by Americans as the leader and mentor in matters of Scottish culture on a national scale, Scotland is viewed with affection as a paternal influence by members of the Scottish-American community. Donaldson (1986) reveals the emotional attachment many Scottish-Americans hold for Scotland: “An enormous sense of pride and joy comes from competing in Scotland, and this is true in all of the competitive events. It comes from the thrill of competing against some of the greatest Games performers in the place where the Games originated and are universally recognized” (p.149).

This concept of Scotland as “homeland” appears to be embraced by many insiders in the Scottish culture, regardless of their actual location or genetic

connection. Slobin uses the concept *interculture* about links set up by subcultures across national borders, and discusses the importance of the “homeland” or “mother country” of such cultures (1993, p.64). Basu (2007) states that Scottish diaspora identity is defined by its relationship to the Scottish homeland, which frequently translates to a self-perception of “Scottishness” (2007, p.66). In contrast, MacGregor (1980) argues that this self-perception is invalid (pp.226-227). Basu posits that the difference in perspective between native Scot, Scottish resident, expatriate Scot, and foreign national of Scottish descent is just that, a difference in perspective, not necessarily less valid or authentic (2007, p.x). He further observes that Scots are sometimes incredulous about a diaspora individual’s knowledge and love of Scotland (Basu, P., 2007, p.185), a point with which MacGregor agrees (1980, p.226).

In the case of Scottish pipe music, the mother country is extremely well defined, both geographically and historically. In many ways, Scotland becomes the “home country” of pipers and drummers whether or not they have Scottish ancestry. Ray (2001) speaks of bagpipers’ travels to Scotland in terms of “heritage tourism,” and “pilgrimage” (p.132). Piper Cliff Roberts describes his view of such a pilgrimage: “Everyone should visit... ..at least once in your life. Once you do, you start to understand what your instructor had been trying to teach you. The GHB, and the Highland Drum, are more than instruments – they’re an extension of you as a person. We not only wanted to go back to Scotland but we wanted to do something some bands only dream of” (Spring 2011, p.42). The dream to which Roberts refers is to compete in the World Pipe Band Championship.

Peter Soergel travelled to Scotland in 2006 as part of a band trip to compete at the World Pipe Band Championship. He speaks of how the band music he had learned over the years enriched his trip, enhancing his sense of cultural belonging:

“As we traveled around with the Band, tunes that I knew came alive as I saw the actual location of the tune. ‘The Steam Train to Mallaig,’ ‘Morag of Dunvegan,’ ‘Skye Boat Song,’ and others as we got to go to the actual places. It was a great experience that has placed memories of Scotland with tunes that we play” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014).

In my own experience of taking students to Scotland for the first time, I recall piping at the Skye Gathering. One of the recurring themes in stories I tell about going round the games in Scotland is the rainy, blustery weather of the Highlands. As it turned out, we encountered mild weather throughout our journey. The day of the Skye Gathering was the only day of our trip when we experienced rain, but on this day the rain was heavy, which, combined with a strong wind, lashed sideways as the band members, all youth of age seventeen or younger, marched to the games field. I had no idea how they would respond to such inclement weather, but at the end of the march, they all gathered round, yelling joyfully, “Patrick! It’s just how you said it would be!”

One opposing perspective of Scotland as “homeland” is Gold Medalist Robert Wallace, Principal of the College of Piping, who disagrees with the idea that the GHB is exclusively “Scottish,” or at least qualifies his view. He sees the GHB as a world instrument at this point in its development. Wallace states:

The pipe is no longer a Scottish instrument, it's a world instrument now. Like the guitar is no longer Spanish. The most heartening thing I find is the phenomenon of the last few years is not necessarily people of Scots and Irish extraction are learning the instrument. It strikes a chord with peoples of all nationalities and backgrounds and genders and ages and colors. I think that that's something that we should all rejoice in (personal interview, March 4, 2011).

This perspective is seen with increasing prevalence as innovation and modification is initiated in parts of the international bagpiping community, mentioned elsewhere in

this thesis. As one example, previously mentioned, the United States was the first country to boast a degree granting university for the GHB. There are at least five in the United States, compared to one in Scotland.

Certainly, one does not have to become immersed in Scottish culture or even wear a kilt to play the GHB, although in the eyes of most bagpipers, as well as non-bagpiping audience members, a connection to Scotland remains.⁹⁴ As may be seen in the migration of the GHB to several of the various and geographically widespread cultures that have adopted it, immersion in Scottish culture is by no means a vital component of the GHB. However, in practice, some cultural immersion beyond mere music making remains the rule rather than the exception, at least in the United States.

Lifelong Learning, Lifelong Love

Students begin to learn to play the GHB for a variety of reasons, and they also continue their studies due to a number of factors. Bass Drummer Gary Derbridge offers several possible answers to the question of why students continue: “Possible answers? ‘Well, I love to play.’ ‘I love to perform for an audience.’ ‘Competing is in my blood.’ ‘It’s part of my DNA—my dad was a piper, his father was a piper...’ ‘It gets me out of the house.’ ‘It’s a good excuse to go drinking with...’” (Spring, 2011, p. 21). As pipers grow into the culture, many of the peripheral cultural aspects that first appealed to them diminish in importance (Crane, 1999, p.30; Hermansson, 2003, p.185). Susan Ramey Jensen’s motivation has grown from pure love of the sound to love of teaching: “The motivation now is because of being an instructor, a performer and a pipe major. So I guess others keep me going now” (personal correspondence,

⁹⁴ Pipe bands, or “bagads” in Brittany typically wear traditional Breton costume, even when they compete at events held in Scotland. The music these groups perform is often originally composed, and bears little resemblance to traditional Scottish music.

January 21, 2014). Bagpiper Andrew Warble also recognizes an obligation to teach: “My motivation has changed as I’ve continued to play the pipes. I desire more to spread my knowledge as well as the beauty and exoticism of the GHB to others. I want others to be exposed to the music of the GHB” (personal correspondence, January 25, 2014). In addition to his continued love for the music, Kenton Adler also regards a desire to give back something to bagpiping as a major motivator for continuing: “I still play because I love the sound of the instrument, and the music played on it, but I think that now there is an additional element of wanting to help advance the art, and make it more accessible to the general public” (personal correspondence, January 21, 2014). Often, as bagpipers’ understanding and love of the instrument deepens, so does their desire to spread the music to others.

As with any true romance, bagpipers’ love for the GHB usually blossoms through the years. Following the American Revolution, Donald Ruadh MacCrimmon returned to the Isle of Skye, “...[W]here he spent the remainder of his life in quiet retirement; and when the infirmities accompanying a protracted life prevented him from handling his favourite [GHB], he would sit on the sunny braes, and run over the notes on the staff which assisted his feeble limbs in his lonely wanderings” (MacKay, 1838, p.10). Piper Duncan Ballantyne describes a similar picture of his father, Alan, and the abiding love he had of the GHB: “Even when illness took his breath away, we found an electronic GHB that he could practice and play on. He never gave up on his practice, even knowing that he would never play a GHB again” (personal correspondence, February 1, 2014).

Student Learning Compared to Initial Expectations

Although no longer considered an exclusively Scottish instrument in the minds of many bagpipers, the GHB and Scotland nevertheless remain linked through

the common history of the country and the instrument, analogous to the relationship Canada and Australia, now independent of Britain, maintain with the “mother country.” Al McMullin endorses learning about the historical background of bagpiping, as well as the GHB’s connection to the larger cultural history: “There is so much more to learn about piping than playing “C” doublings correctly. The history of the GHB, even in recent times. What the GHB did as England or the British Isles conquered the world...” (personal interview, July 31, 2011). A performer can play ethnic music without immersion into the culture, but an understanding of the culture can enhance a performer’s empathy for the music (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Summer 1999, p.28). The typical American student takes up the GHB as an end in itself rather than for the outward trappings of the culture. Nevertheless, the GHB remains such a prevalent symbol of Scottish romanticism, it is almost impossible for a prospective student to make initial contact with the GHB purely as a musical instrument, even if he has not been otherwise connected to the culture. This is true, if for no other reason than bagpipers traditionally wear a kilt when they perform, and one of the primary performance venues is competition at Highland games.

Because of the traditional venue and performance costume, American students usually appear to enter the culture with a fairly accurate initial grasp of the reality of the current state of the culture. Although these students often take up the GHB initially because of the remarkably stirring sound of the instrument, they eventually become immersed in the greater culture of kilts, Highland games, and Robert Burns dinners.

Another possible explanation for rapid adaptation and enculturation on the part of American beginners is that they often experience their first contact with the

bagpiping community through persons who are knowledgeable insiders. American outsiders entering the bagpiping community appear to view cultural trappings and customs such as wearing kilts and attending Highland games as a fringe benefit to learning the GHB. Crane's respondents, all of whom claimed Scottish ancestry, attached initially to the symbols of the culture, especially the tartan, a practice observed by many who experience a new cultural awareness, especially if it is the culture of their heritage, although this attachment diminished as participants' cultural immersion deepened (Crane, 1999, p.98).

Hermansson's findings confirm those of Crane. His respondents, though outsiders, initially sought both the GHB and the perceived culture, including everything they thought it entailed. At some point in their journey into cultural inclusion, Scandinavian pipers lost interest in the outer trappings of the culture in favour of the music, filtered through the competition environment (Hermansson, 2003, p.269). This phenomenon certainly applies to the United States, where initial enthusiasm for wearing the kilt is often replaced by a deeper interest in the music, and an even deeper love for the GHB itself. Crane reveals that insiders to any culture eventually find that they do not need visible, outer trappings to feel as though they are insiders: "When an individual is still in the process of completing his or her self-definition, symbols serve as proof to others and oneself that a desired self-definition has been obtained. Once an individual has constructed and feels complete in his or her ethnic identity, symbols are less important" (1999, p.124). In this case, the term "ethnic identity" could be replaced by "identity as a Bagpiper."

At this point, the bagpipers, who now consider themselves to be insiders to the bagpiping community, often begin to resent outsiders for their lack of cultural understanding. bagpipers in the United States eventually grow to hate requests for

“Scotland the Brave” and “Amazing Grace.” Referring to the St. Andrew’s University Pipe Band, Ray (2001) states, “‘Amazing Grace’ is sung and piped at most events (the St. Andrew’s University Pipe Band members moan when it is requested- ‘Oh no, not the “A” word’)” (p.63). For many pipers, when contacted to play the GHB at a wedding, the initial question often posed by the bride-to-be is, “Do you wear a kilt?” Most pipers would not dream of performing without wearing a kilt, but some look at this initial question as an opportunity to educate the family about the musical aspects of the performance, in the hope that by the time of the wedding they will listen with their ears as well as their eyes.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined student attitudes, motivations, and expectations for learning. In the course of this investigation, I interviewed more than sixty pipers and drummers from a wide range of experience and ability, discovering that people enter into the bagpiping community for a variety of reasons, among them being: a family connection- a relative played the GHB; exposure to the GHB through the movies; an emotional or wartime experience; connecting with or discovering Scottish cultural identity; and the opportunity to join a group, becoming part of the community.

One of the significant and original conclusions I have drawn from my findings is that, of these several reasons, often more than one reason is given as a motive. Furthermore, although joining the bagpiping community for the sake of being in an affinity group is a theoretical reason people might begin to learn the GHB, none of my respondents listed that as their sole reason. It was true, however, that the enjoyment of being in a group grew as they became enculturated insiders, and was identified as a positive byproduct by some. I did not ask my respondents to place their motivations in a hierarchical order of preference, so despite the larger

relative number of responses containing certain motives, I cannot comfortably conclude whether there is actually a predominant reason for beginning to learn to play the GHB.

The American phenomenon of adult beginners was examined, as well as the motives for students of all ages to continue playing into adulthood. Generally, the concept of continuing music into adulthood is uncommon in the United States, which is particularly ironic, considering the large number of adults entering into the bagpiping community. By far the most frequent reason given by students of any age for learning the GHB was a primal love of the sound of the instrument. This was also listed as one of the main reasons for continuing to play. None of these respondents were able to further define their comments about what or why they claimed to love the sound. However, from a purely speculative perspective, I think that while context frequently plays a part in a listener's initial impression, the fact that these respondents refer to the sound rather than the context within which the sound is heard suggests there might be something about the timbre, intensity, or volume of the GHB that draws some listeners to it. However, a study of the psychological and physiological roots of this phenomenon is beyond the scope of this research.

Another significant conclusion I made centered on the concept of self-exclusion of groups who would otherwise consider themselves to be a part of the macro-community. "Street bands" often exclude themselves from participation in community events such as Highland games, and especially competition, but this self-exclusion does not necessarily adversely affect their self-perception. This finding was unexpected, as I thought such bands would actually think less of themselves, and would consciously be jealous of competition bands. This misconception revealed

researcher bias on my part. In fact, “street bands” serve a purpose in the bagpiping community as opportunities for participants who for some reason do not “fit” into the parameters of a competition band.

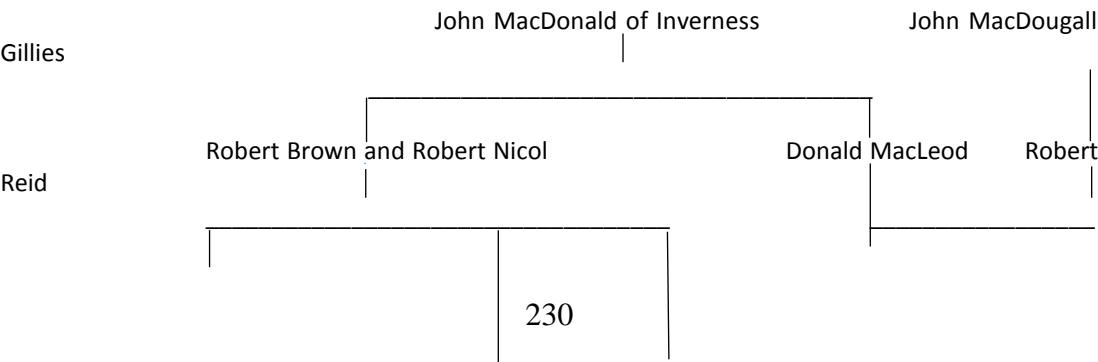
Another aspect of the culture, the kilt remains a vital component not only of the Scottish culture, but specifically of the bagpiping culture and community, although to insiders, the kilt often loses much of its importance as a cultural identifier. Speaking for myself, as an insider to Scottish bagpiping culture, I have been wearing a kilt since I was a baby. Now, although I enjoy wearing the kilt, and would not consider performing without wearing the kilt, it is not a vital component of my identity. On the other hand, newcomers into the community often view wearing the kilt as an indispensable aspect of their cultural identity.

Finally, and most importantly, it is not the greater Scottish culture, or even Scotland, but the GHB itself that has become the focal point of the bagpiping community. Bagpipers wear a kilt because it is what bagpipers wear to perform, not because the kilt is worn in Scotland. They go to Highland games because that is where GHB competitions take place, not to visit the clan tents or to engage in Gaelic workshops. If bagpipers drink Scotch or enjoy Burns poetry, these practices are largely adopted as activities independent from bagpiping. The journey of Scottish-Americans into self-awareness of their heritage, described by Sim (2011) and others previously mentioned, is usually independent of most Americans’ decision to become bagpipers, even if the pipers also assume other aspects of Scottish-American identity. There has not been a purposeful separation of the GHB from the greater Scottish community, rather a drifting apart, with the two diverging cultures still connected at events such as Burns nights and Highland games, but the GHB community can legitimately claim to be an independent, autonomous community of its own.

CHAPTER VI: TEACHER ATTITUDES AND METHODS

This chapter is divided into two sections, with the first section examining the attitudes of teachers toward the transmission of bagpiping and GHB culture, their self-perceptions as teachers, and student’s perceptions of those attitudes, some of the most important factors determining student success. The second section discusses actual teaching practices and methods.

Chart VI-A shows the lineage and teaching influence of some of the teachers mentioned in Chapter VI. Neither an exhaustive genealogy of the persons mentioned, nor a complete picture of the myriad teaching influences in the United States, the chart merely provides a visual reference for clarification of respondent’s comments in this chapter.



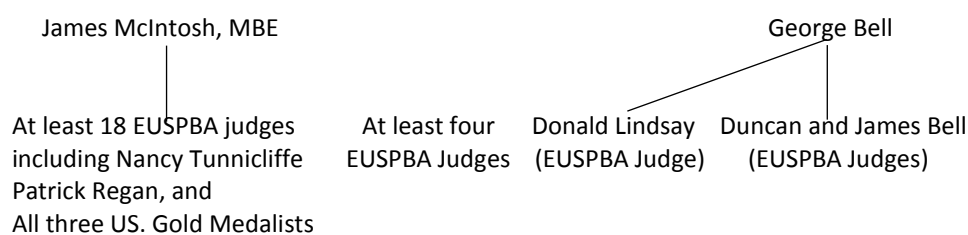


Chart VI-A: Lineage and teaching influence of selected EUSPBA judges

THE STUDENT/TEACHER RELATIONSHIP

Everyone has spent time in the role of student, and many students have experienced the negative effects of a disinterested or unqualified teacher. The specific attitudes and perceptions of GHB teachers and students have received no scholarly attention, but the literature is laced with anecdotal evidence to support the importance of a positive connection and interaction between teacher and student.

Teacher Attitudes and Teaching Philosophy

All teachers, regardless of discipline, bring various aspects of their personality, attitude, and philosophy to their teaching practice, and this is often particularly true in the transmission of traditional or culturally specific music (Booth, 1996; Neuman, 1990; Vaidyanathan, 1989; Weidman, 2006). As a result, students often internalize musical knowledge as well as a broader cultural understanding (Neuman, 1990, p.54).

Furthermore, teachers claim a variety of motivations for teaching. Some teachers teach out of necessity; they are the only people in a locale who are qualified by knowledge and experience. Others teach out of love for the art, or perhaps because of the enjoyment and satisfaction teaching often brings. Desire for self-improvement as a performer is a third motivation to teach (Harnish, Solis, & Witzleben, 2004, p.61). These motivations are not restricted to one musical

discipline, crossing ethnic, cultural, and musical boundaries. Decisions concerning teaching philosophy and teaching methods affect both the teacher and the student.

Music education philosophy as a confluence of music, education, music education, and philosophy, is a relatively new discipline, yet to be refined (Bowman & Frega, 2012, p.4). This is not to say music teachers have not contemplated the philosophical aspects of music education, but that these aspects have yet to be fully codified (Abeles, Hoffer, & Klotman, 1995, pp.41-63). Because the nature of this dissertation focusses primarily on the practical aspects of teaching, examples of teaching philosophy will be of a practical nature, referred to by Phelan (2012) as “performed music education philosophy” (p.81). GHB teachers often establish a teaching philosophy only after years of practical teaching experience. Reimer (2003) refers to this method of philosophy construction as “...[A] practice-based... [or]...paraxial philosophy of music education” (p.49). Such an empirical perspective often impacts the practical aspects of teaching bagpipers use to inform their teaching philosophy, include theory instruction, approach to specific transmission practice, and curriculum choices.

Decisions regarding theory instruction often depend on a teacher’s own theoretical knowledge of music. Because of the heavy emphasis the bagpiping community places on performance, pipers often neglect the theoretical aspects of GHB music. Clayton (2003) found a similar disregard for theory among concertgoers, and also among non-bagpiping performers in certain circumstances (p.63). Competitor and judge, Nancy Tunnicliffe, a prolific teacher whose extensive previous background in academic music, combined with her prior experiences as a GHB student, observed that while her teachers presented technically precise instruction, very little was explained to her from a theoretical perspective, and even

less was taught about how the GHB relates to other musical instruments, and these experiences as a student, combined with the influence of her prior musical background have informed her teaching philosophy: “One thing that is interesting about pipers is that most don’t think of themselves as musicians. I wanted people to realize why they were playing this note long, or short, or this gracenote this way. Understanding these things rather than just playing them by rote can help people to learn...” (Neville, Winter 1998, p.25). Tunnicliffe’s approach to music theory and comprehension, although no longer rare, is nevertheless a recent development among GHB teachers, and her remark about bagpipers not viewing themselves as musicians remains largely true. This widely held self-perception becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, because many non-bagpiping musicians, especially those trained in Western institutionalized settings, do not view bagpipers as legitimate musicians. Many GHB teachers still appear to favour a learning process void of theoretical instruction, which is looked down upon by many who are educated in formal Western music traditions. Scottish Schools Pipe Band Championships director David Johnston observed: “Quite simply, many classically trained school heads of music look down on the pipes and want nothing to do with them.”⁹⁵ Admittedly, this view goes beyond teaching techniques, and can be often be seen as a general misunderstanding by Western institutionalized music culture of the GHB itself.

Discussing the rote learning approach, and the difficulty of getting beyond the mechanics of a piece, competitor, teacher, and judge Donald Lindsay echoes Tunnicliffe’s views: “It’s easy to sit with a student and hammer on the technical things. A lot of teachers are good hammerers and can produce technically good

⁹⁵ Retrieved, January 24, 2014: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-edinburgh-east-fife-25561410>

pipers. The musical part of piping is more fragile, and you have to treat that very carefully to draw that out of somebody” (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.29). Lindsay’s comment does not negate the importance of technique. Rather, he reveals an understanding that musical playing goes far beyond mere technique, and for many, is much more difficult to achieve.

Another recent development in GHB instruction, which apparently first appeared in 1953 with the development of the *College of Piping Tutor, Part One*, is the formal lesson plan and curriculum. These planning strategies are almost always of benefit to the learning process. However, a sensitive, experienced teacher will not simply follow a prescribed agenda for student development. Tunnicliffe considers the student’s goals and desires while developing the lesson plan, focusing on: “...[H]ow they picture themselves as pipers, if they want to play in a band, or play at home, or hide in the basement and play... (Neville Winter 1998, p.25). Lindsay echoes Tunnicliffe’s philosophy of matching his methods to fit the needs of the individual student, also giving thought to the student’s individual learning style: “I thought for a long time of putting together just one method of teaching, but every time I looked at that I realized that not everybody learns the same way. I find myself tailoring teaching to what each specific person needs and how they seem to learn best” (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.29). Rather than advocating a different curriculum for each student, Lindsay appears to favour modifying an established curriculum to fit the individual student’s needs and learning style. Considerations such as these inform teaching philosophy, which for a dedicated teacher, will continue to develop over the course of the teacher’s career.

Teacher Satisfaction and Self-Perception

In addition to developing a teaching philosophy, teacher satisfaction and fulfillment influence a teacher's self-perception and long term feeling of success. Components of teacher satisfaction include: maintaining an interest in teaching; developing a satisfying student-teacher relationship; nurturing a healthy perspective on continuing education; and creating an atmosphere of transparency in teaching.

Maintaining an interest in teaching is vital to teacher satisfaction. Lindsay describes his fascination with the teaching process: "The one constant about teaching is that it makes you keep looking at how to get the job done, and it continually requires creative problem-solving. That makes it fresh and interesting" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.29). Furthermore, the choices teachers make in accepting students often impact teacher satisfaction. As an example, teacher, judge, and Gold Medalist, Jack Lee, often bases his criteria for accepting students on attitude and personality, rather than on the student's potential to become a top player, and teaches a number of students who he knows will never be top players: "That's totally OK with me, as long as I enjoy teaching them and they're really eager to learn. ...they're nice people and I really enjoy knowing them" (Rogers, and McGonigal, Summer, 1998, p.29). Lindsay's and Lee's attitudes appear to suggest that teacher fulfillment and satisfaction goes beyond the potential competitive success of one's students. Lindsay speaks of the challenges of becoming a better teacher, while establishing a cordial relationship with a student is important to Lee.

Another factor in a teacher's self-perception is his views on continuing education. The value of the teacher as a self-perceived lifelong learner has been well documented (Boyd, 2005; Millis, 2009; Salazar-Clemen, 1997; Tiedao, 2002). In

the United States, instances of pipers, regardless of ability, not availing themselves of a teacher or some other form of educational opportunity appear to be few and far between. Most American bagpipers eagerly participate in various educational opportunities, including: workshops; seminars; listening to recordings; and Skype lessons, in addition to the traditional studio lessons offered by master teachers.

Although studies specific to GHB teachers have not been conducted, many of the top players understand the importance of being a lifelong student. Discussing the value of continued education, Gold Medalist Jack Lee asserts that everyone, regardless of ability and experience, needs external feedback, describing his relationship with his long time teacher, James MacMillan: “In Jimmy’s case, he’s a knowledgeable person and he’s heard me all of my life. So he certainly is aware of when I’m playing well and when I’m not, and has no hesitation about telling me that” (Rogers, and McGonigal, Summer 1998, p.29). Lee’s remark also implies a level of trust that is vital between student and teacher.

One contrasting perception between Scottish and American pipers appears to be their desire to continue their education. Despite easy access to an abundance of excellent teachers, many Scottish pipers do not take lessons (MacLellan, personal interview, March 4, 2011). There is no conclusion as to why Scots sometimes appear to avoid continuing education opportunities, but in the United States, most pipers consider education to be of utmost importance, and this educational emphasis is enthusiastically promoted by the EUSPBA, as described in detail in Chapter III. Although many pipers in Scotland do not continue with lessons beyond a certain point, this is by no means a uniform attitude, especially among many of the top players (Spicer, Fall 2000, p.21).

Competitor and teacher Sean Regan, Director of Bagpiping at Massanutten Military Academy in Virginia, and a graduate of the Music Education program at Edinboro University of Pennsylvania, discusses his philosophy as a teacher who is a lifelong learner:

I believe in perpetual studentship, particularly concerning teachers. A teacher who forgets how it feels to learn something new is handicapping his ability to understand his student. In my opinion, teachers should... ..expose themselves regularly to situations where they have to learn new skills or ways of functioning, so they never get stuck in a 'this is the only way to do things' rut (Spring 2012, p.22).

These Scottish and American respondents express the opinion that continued success as a competitor and as teacher depends on viewing oneself as a lifelong student.

Another important factor in the student-teacher relationship is trust. Understandably, a student must trust the teacher will share information appropriately, but not all members of the bagpiping world have always advanced a free and open transmission of knowledge. Lindsay describes the attitude of secrecy he faced when he first went to Scotland "People knew certain things about reeds and tunes and so on, but they were very conservative about who they'd share that information with" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.29). Confirming Lindsay's statement, Hermansson's respondents spoke about how their interest in bagpiping met with a varied response by Scottish teachers and other members of the Scottish bagpiping community. Many Scandinavian pipers wanted to learn how to make their own instruments, but this desire was often met with silence from the Scots (2003, p.301). Without discrediting the Scandinavian perceptions of exclusion, this specific example is probably not a case of societal exclusion, but rather protection of proprietary information. GHB makers and reed makers are notoriously taciturn about their methods, understandable considering the competitive nature of the open market. Always looking for an edge to improve over the competition, these businessmen

naturally express reluctance to share product knowledge. While a reticence to share information exists to a degree in any closed society, this is certainly not always the case, especially among teachers, many of whom are noted for their generous sharing of knowledge. Lindsay noted that Robert Brown was always forthcoming and open with his knowledge (McCarthy, Fall 2007, pp.20-21). Another teacher, Michael Elder, a retired Pipe Major of the Black Watch, who travelled to various parts of Scandinavia to conduct seminars and workshops, comments: "I am a great firm believer in spreading the 'disease.' I was taught piping to teach, and I have done it, and I am spreading it, and I will spread it, I suppose, until I die" (Hermansson, 2003, p.246). Ultimately, the dedicated teacher becomes more concerned with the welfare and success of his students, and in Elder's case, with the growth of bagpiping, than with any perceived cultural protectionism.

Student Perceptions of Teacher Attitudes

How a student perceives his teacher might be almost as important to the learning process as the teacher's ability. Teacher attitudes go beyond personality, although personality is often the starting point. Other factors, such as: teacher decisions about adherence to musical style; teacher strictness; teacher knowledge and proficiency; and the teacher's ability to inspire the student, combine to form the student's perception of his instructor.

Teaching students how to play correctly, for the purposes of this thesis defined as learning how to correctly execute notes, tune GHBs, and present music in an idiomatically acceptable manner according to the current standards of traditional bagpiping promoted by the widely acknowledged leaders of the Scottish competitive bagpiping community, is thought by many to be the most important consideration in becoming a good piper. Nancy Tunnicliffe considers herself fortunate because her

first teacher, a man she randomly approached at a parade, concerned himself with correct instruction, and with her welfare and success as a student, attributing her subsequent success as a competitor, and later as a teacher to the foundation she received from him: “I think that if I didn’t run up to him, specifically, nothing that happened to me afterward would have happened” (Neville, Winter 1998, p. 23).

High standards and strict adherence to correct playing reveal a recurring theme in teacher attitudes. These teacher attitudes sometimes result in a perceived air of intimidation on the part of the student. Donald Lindsay discusses these values modeled by his own teacher, George Bell: “It was actually a little bit frightening going to him for lessons. I realized that he had extremely high standards... You soon got the message that close wasn’t good enough. You really had to be right on with him before he’d be satisfied” (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.23). Bell, in turn, recalled his own teacher, Gold Medalist and GHB maker Robert Hardie, who likewise embodied strict adherence to detail and style: “I was his only student. All I knew was what he was telling me. There was no give or take with him. That was it, there was no deviation. I have to assume this was exactly the way [Robert] Reid taught in Glasgow” (Wassman, Fall, 1996, p.20).

Rigid adherence to a particular style, although common in the bagpiping community, is not necessarily a requirement for success. George Bell contrasts Hardie’s authoritarian approach to that of his later teacher, Gold Medalist Donald MacLeod, describing MacLeod as: “...[E]ntirely different. Bob was strictly Cameron-style Piobaireachd in his playing. Donald was more open-minded than Bob Hardie ever was (Wassman, Fall, 1996, p.23). It is illuminating to observe the comparison Bell makes between Hardie’s and Reid’s strict, inflexible teaching styles, and the more accepting, cosmopolitan style of MacLeod. As a student of Reid,

Hardie apparently emulated his teacher, and like his teacher portrayed a sense of absolute adherence to style. Both Reid and Hardie were products of the pre-Second World War British Army, and one might conclude their teaching style simply extended from military discipline. However, strictness and rigid loyalty to one style was not necessarily the standard among all teachers of that era. A contemporary of Reid and Hardie, Donald MacLeod, who was a student of John MacDonald of Inverness, apparently showed no such rigidity.

As a teacher, John MacDonald of Inverness apparently exhibited a range of teaching styles, and this appears to have been reflected in his approach to musical style. Peter Kent and Michael Rodgers, both competitors and judges, interviewed competitor and teacher Donald MacGillvray, who discusses his perception of MacDonald's view toward alternate musical interpretations:

PK&MR: Did he ever teach you a tune the way he would like to hear it and then say, "But you could play it this way too?" Did he give you alternatives?

DM: No, he always liked you to play it the way he liked it.
(Kent and Rogers, Winter, 2001, p.26).

Initially, MacGillvray's description of MacDonald's insistence that MacGillvray play tunes only "the way he liked it" would seem to coincide with Bell's recollection of Hardie's rigid adherence to one musical interpretation. However, teacher and judge Ronald Morrison had a far different experience, recalling that MacDonald would discuss the playing styles of the great players of his time: "...[A]nd he'd say 'This is the way so and so played it, and this is the way Calum Piobaire played it, and I preferred it this way.' And that was influential. If I heard another style, I would say to myself, 'Oh, I can recognize that. That's the Cameron style'" (Woolard, Winter 2002, p.24). The apparently cosmopolitan stylistic attitude exhibited by MacDonald when he instructed Morrison was revealed in Bell's recollections of the teaching

practices of Donald MacLeod, himself a student of MacDonald (Wassman, Fall, 1996, p.23). Gold Medalist Angus MacLellan also a long time student of Donald MacLeod, frequently spoke of MacLeod's acceptance of differing playing styles and interpretations (Regan, personal recollection, January 16, 2014). From these examples it becomes clear that strict adherence to one musical style is not a universal practice among teachers, and furthermore, is not necessarily an absolute teaching style even among teachers like MacDonald, who sometimes but not always subscribe to that practice.

The adage, "Those who cannot do, teach," is often far from the truth. A teacher's proficiency as a piper is not necessarily a primary factor in successful teaching, especially at a lower level. Drumming teacher and judge Jon Quigg, and piping teacher and judge Paula Glendinning assert that far more important than being a competent player, a teacher must possess an ability to identify problems and offer solutions on how to correct them, and this ability to recognize and correct the faults in others is a vital skill of effective teachers (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.25).

Students also list vision, passion, and commitment as vital characteristics of effective teachers. As much as to teach technique, many students look to their teachers for inspiration as musicians. Donald Lindsay recalls his early experiences with Thomas Pearston, who Lindsay met while a young student at the Gaelic College in Nova Scotia, describing Pearston as: "...[P]rofoundly inspirational. He was a forward-thinking person, and a very progressive teacher, and eager to try new approaches to put ideas across" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.23). Lindsay's observation of Pearston's enthusiasm for innovative teaching methods further illuminates Lindsay's earlier remark about his own fascination with

the challenges of the teaching process, and corroborates the theory that teachers tend to emulate their own teachers in terms of style and motive. Lindsay continues his commentary, describing Seumas MacNeill's inspirational presence as a teacher: "I was just in awe of Seumas MacNeill because of his absolute *love* for piping. He *lived* for piping, and he was such a bright man that I thought the world of him" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.23). Unlike Pearston and MacNeill, Frank Hudak was not a famous, prizewinning piper, but his students considered him a very effective teacher, noting that "...[W]hat Hudak lacked in technical expertise, he more than made up for with his love and devotion to the pipes, and more importantly, his ability to inspire the same in his students" (Sperl, Summer 2004, p.13). These sentiments reflect those of Highland dancer Hugh Bigney's recollections of his teacher champion dancer James L. MacKenzie, mentioned in Chapter V.

Lindsay enjoyed similar inspirational experiences with Bob Brown. Describing Brown's profound influence on the choices he made as a piper, Lindsay states: "Interestingly, he never sat me down and said, 'Donald, I think you should make a full-time pursuit of piping.' Even though he was one of the top professional pipers in the world, he referred to piping as his hobby" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.29). Ironically, Donald Lindsay is one of a small number of pipers outside the British army who can legitimately claim bagpiping as a full-time profession. Echoing Lindsay's experience, Dr. Jack Taylor (Summer 1996, p.22) recalls his lessons with Brown, noting that Brown seemed to always be happy to answer any questions put to him, whether from his students or not. Such openness, once considered the exception, is more and more becoming the norm in GHB instruction.

Not all teaching is technique and expression. Another aspect of teaching that appeals to some students is the teacher's ability to weave the cultural history of the music into the instruction. Seumas MacNeill was particularly gifted in this regard, as Lindsay states: "Seumas was also a bard at heart. He loved telling stories of the ancient pipers. When he did, he made us aware of the nobility and greatness of the ancient pipers" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.23). Perhaps surprisingly, many American teachers do not emphasize cultural history instruction, and some do not include any detailed cultural or historical information in their lessons.

Beyond the ability to teach the mechanics and the music, students often look to their teachers as life mentors. Recalling an interview with Gold Medalist Donald MacPhee, Eric Stein states that MacPhee told him his father had set only one goal for him in bagpiping: "Sandy [MacPhee's father] told him that the one thing he must do is leave piping a better place than when he found it" (Stein, Fall 2005, p.70). Piper Allyson Crowley-Duncan expands on MacFee's comments: "I have taken a lot from my teachers other than knowledge. The teachers I value the most are ones who make comparisons to other things when teaching, whether it be another instrument, a sport, or life in general. I think that the ability to make connections allows a student to understand the topic better" (personal correspondence, January 23, 2014). An effective teacher must be prepared to teach more than just music, theory, and performance practice. Inspiration and personal life mentoring often become part of the student-teacher relationship, occasionally blossoming into lifelong friendship.

GHB PEDAGOGY

History of GHB Instruction

The second part of this chapter seeks to identify specific pedagogical and andragogical methods used by GHB teachers. Teaching methodology often derives through trial and error, and educational researcher Holly Knox acknowledges, “...experimentation in education is worldwide and is as old as the art of teaching itself” (1971, p.1). Experimentation, however, differs from scholarly documentation of experimentation, and while common sense suggests dedicated teachers throughout history would always strive to improve their teaching methods, little evidence of formal research exists in the field of education prior to the late Nineteenth Century, beginning with the publication of Henry Barnard’s *American Journal of Education* (Knox, 1971, p.1). Prior to this publication, research would likely have been anecdotal, limited to a particular teacher’s interest and ability to experiment within the studio or classroom. When the United States Department of Education was founded in 1867, its purpose was to collect statistics on the state of education throughout the United States, to study, develop and promulgate teaching methods, and to disseminate information concerning the organization and management of schools (Knox, 1971, p.2). According to Knox, this mandate translated into discussion of European educational models, until the 1890’s. Beginning in the 1890s, scientific exploration increased, becoming a matter for scientific investigation, controlled experimentation, and rational reform (Knox, 1971, p.2). The broad subject of educational research included American models in this new exploration. Recorded experiments in music education did not begin until even later, and of GHB music education, no documentation exists whatsoever.

Despite no evidence of research on GHB music education, this does not mean none has occurred. Purposeful teaching, by nature, is not simply a random, haphazard, or thoughtless action. Inductive reasoning suggests the creation of a tutor book requires the author to consider the needs of the prospective student prior to writing the book. Using a simple “cause and effect” model, the “effect” of a tutor book was “caused” by a teacher either thinking about or experimenting with a particular lesson plan prior to publication. To reiterate, just because the author of the tutor book did not record the book’s development does not mean there was no thought or experimentation in that development.

Early Evidence of GHB Instruction

Using tutor books as an indication of purposeful teaching, the earliest documented example of a tutor book for GHBs was written in the mid-Seventeenth Century for the musette, played as a fad by almost everyone in the French Court (Collinson, 1975, p.123). In fact, the musette became such a popular instrument that several different instruction books were written, the most popular being *Traite de la Musette*, by Charles Emmanuel Borgon, published in 1672 (Collinson, 1975, p.123). A subsequent work, *Methode pour la Musette*, written by Jacques-Martin Hotteterre, was published in 1737 (Flood, 1911, p.124).

Scottish bagpipers did not need a tutor book, however, because until the Nineteenth Century, no written GHB music existed, and the GHB was taught exclusively through an oral tradition known as canntaireachd (Scott, 1993, p.183). Describing the method of instruction in Seventeenth Century Scotland, Collinson mentions a term, “pattern playing,” but does not define this term (Collinson, 1975, p.136). Perhaps he means rote learning, where the student merely copies the instructor, but this is not clear from his writing, though it certainly makes sense as a

method for teaching the basics to a beginner. Collinson then makes a reference to “syllabic jargon,” by which he apparently means canntaireachd, describing the method as a type of piper’s solfege, although, “...to the uninitiated, the combination of certain syllables chanted in a monotone would not seem to convey any definite idea of fixed sounds forming a melody” (Collinson, 1975, p.136). In this description Collinson errs, through a seeming unfamiliarity with canntaireachd, which in practice is a pitched method of presenting music, with solfege-like vocables ascribed to each melody note in the scale, as well as specifically pronounced vocables for each embellishment. It is not clear from his writing whether Collinson ever heard canntaireachd being used, but from his description it would seem that he only saw copies of the written words, which do not immediately and obviously indicate pitch. GHB music was taught in this manner until the Nineteenth Century. With the turn of the Nineteenth Century, however, came a development that would change bagpiping forever.

Written Music

Perhaps the most culture-changing innovation in the history of the GHB was the development of written GHB music. As stated previously, GHB music was not written until the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, but in fact, there are relatively few surviving written sources and examples of any Scottish music prior to the Nineteenth Century, because changes in musical taste in the Eighteenth Century led to Seventeenth Century music being neglected and ignored, with manuscripts frequently discarded or destroyed (Cheape, Winter 2003, p.27). Although GHB composers and transcriptionists wrote down and published music with increasing frequency beginning in the early 1800s, it was not until the 1840s that written GHB music was accepted on a wide enough scale for GHB music publishing to develop as

an industry (Banks and Glen, Spring, 2002, p.48). This gradual acceptance of written music was likely because very few bagpipers could even read music at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, and most saw no immediate need to change their teaching or learning habits.

Although the advent of written music can be seen largely as a benefit to both students and teachers, even this advance is not without challenges. These challenges, how bagpipers compose, memorize, and interpret music, are magnified by the gulf of time between composition and transcription. Musicologist Barnaby Brown suggests the challenge of interpretation is especially true regarding ancient piobaireachds, which were in many examples not written down until 150 years after they were composed (Spring 2005, p.48).

Gold Medalist James McIntosh, MBE, expands on Brown's position, asserting that piobaireachd taught through staff notation lacks the nuance, shading, phrasing, and rhythmic detail, inherent in oral transmission (Summer 1998, p.17). Blaming lack of musical training on the part of the Nineteenth Century bagpipers who initially set GHB music into staff notation, McIntosh describes the difficulty in translating music from the written page alone: "...[B]ecause we had expert composers and performers, but very amateur music translators. This has left us today with volumes of music that thankfully have saved the notes, but regretfully have lost the musical expression and interpretation" (Spring 2002, p.16). Allan MacDonald (1995, pp.39-40) takes this view even farther when he asserts not only that piobaireachd cannot be understood from the written music alone, but that piobaireachd cannot be properly understood without a thorough understanding of Gaelic song, and simply singing the piobaireachd as written is nothing more than a

vain attempt by modern teachers to provide a measure of authenticity to their instructional practices.

Regarding the learning challenges and misunderstandings caused by staff notation in piobaireachd, Dougald MacNeill comments: “The only doubtful virtue (claimed by my illustrious predecessor [SeumasMacNeill]) for this needless mystery was that it made it more imperative that the beginner had to go to an experienced teacher” (2007, p.2).

The problem observed by Brown, McIntosh, MacDonald, and MacNeill has its roots in the music itself, because from the outset, written GHB music in its current form, transcribed by amateur pipers employing an imperfect transcription system, was not precisely transcribed. Surprisingly, since Angus MacKay’s book appeared in 1838, there has been little attempt to increase the accuracy of writing GHB music in staff notation (McIntosh, Summer 1998, p.17). However, there have been at least two notable attempts to more accurately and clearly transcribe GHB music. Piper Dr. Roderick Ross (1959) devised a significant new method of transcribing piobaireachd, the *Bineas Is Borerraig* collection, considered by many as an improvement over traditional notation, although Ross’ choice to use a three-line staff caused confusion and difficulty in reading for many learners. More recently, Dougald MacNeill (2007) authored a book, *Sight Readable Ceol Mor*, combining traditional staff notation with a more flexible presentation of phrasing. In the introduction to his book, MacNeill warns, “The best score is only a beginning” (2007, p.2). The biggest problem with writing piobaireachd stems from the fact that although it can be very rhythmical, it is not metrical, and arbitrarily confining the music to bar lines in order to fit conveniently into a particular metre causes an unjust incarceration of the composer’s intent.

Despite the challenges attending the invention of written music for the GHB, the emphasis gradually shifted from oral/aural-based teaching to a more visual approach, although the rote method and the oral/aural method remain accepted methods to the present day.

GHB Instruction in the United States

In the United States today perhaps thousands of pipers possess considerable ability on the instrument. Obviously, playing ability does not always translate to teaching ability, nor do competent pipers express a universal desire to teach. However, those pipers who do teach usually lack formal teacher training, because no formalized training programs specifically for GHB instruction currently exist, other than the Music Education degree program at Edinboro University of Pennsylvania. Historically, folk and traditional music teachers have been trained on an informal or non-formal basis, and this general practice is well-documented (Dunbar-Hall, 2011; Rice, 1994; Waldron, 2008). This is also true of bagpipers throughout the world. In an effort to correct this deficiency, in 2012, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania began to include the GHB as a primary instrument in the Bachelor of Arts in Music Education degree program. This is the first program of its kind specifically dedicated to formal training for GHB teachers. Although the Institute of Piping offers a teacher's certificate, no formalized training program prepares candidates for the certification. In practice, the prospective teacher typically models the behavior of his instructors, learning by trial and error, gradually developing a comfortable teaching philosophy, style, and method.

Pipers who do have formal teacher training often find this training helps them immeasurably, even if their teacher training is not in the field of music. One common characteristic of successful teachers is the ability to effectively

communicate content. Canadian teacher and judge, Reay MacKay, a member of the EUSPBA Adjudicator's Panel and a retired Ontario public school Industrial Arts teacher, takes this concept further, suggesting: "I think what teacher training teaches people to do, is to make difficult concepts simple. Basically... ..break it down into its simplicity, so the brain can grasp onto something" (personal interview, February 24, 2013).

What, then, are the pedagogical methods used by American GHB instructors to teach their students?

General Methodology

General methods used by GHB teachers vary based on the pedagogical experience of the teacher, on his own experience as a learner, and often on the teacher's willingness to try to learn more about the art of teaching. The GHB offers an opportunity for several teaching strategies: typically, pipers learn from a combination of printed music; oral and aural methods; and from the modeling behavior of their teachers.

Rote Learning, Written Music and Method Books, and Oral Methods

The basic methods employed by teachers to introduce students to music can be broadly categorized into three general strategies: rote learning; written music and tutor books; and oral methods. Most teachers appear to use a combination of these strategies.

In the first, and perhaps the least-used strategy of current GHB instruction, the rote learning method, the instructor repeatedly plays a phrase which is copied by the student. Many modern music teachers, regardless of instrument, appear to consider this inferior teaching methodology, but according to researcher Janice Waldron, this "call and response" method was actually preferred at the Goderich

Celtic College, as a traditional method of teaching Celtic music (2006, p.103).

MacKay describes his use of this rote method in his daughter's initial tuition:

The first tune that she got was "John McKenzie's Fancy." And basically what I did with her was, I said, "Here" (sings first half of first phrase of John McKenzie's Fancy), and that was the first night's lesson (laughs)! And the next night we did the second half of the phrase. And I did it in little snippets like that, until eventually she got the whole tune. (personal interview, February 24, 2013).

"John MacKenzie's Fancy" is considered to be an exceptionally challenging piece, even among advanced players. MacKay taught his daughter in this manner through her first several tunes, giving her a series of difficult, advanced tunes, a unique repertoire for a beginner. GHB teachers frequently employ a modification of this rote learning method, adding written music to the process, with the teacher playing the tune for the student while the student reads along with the music. Waldron found folk music teachers used this method frequently, especially with students who were trained musicians, but who were unaccustomed to the concept of learning "by ear" (Waldron, 2006, p.104).

Another aspect of the rote learning method involves extensive use of scales and exercises prior to the introduction of the first tune. Nancy Tunnicliffe describes her adaptation of this method, eschewing the more common method of quickly introducing beginning students to music: "I don't have them on a tune by the second week. In that respect I probably teach in an old-fashioned Scottish way—a lot of exercises at first—and if they stick with it through that stage it means they really want to play. I guess that was the whole reason for that in the first place" (Neville, Winter 1998, p.25). Here Tunnicliffe alludes to what she describes as the "old-fashioned Scottish way," which this dissertation labels the "Exercises First" method, as compared to the more modern, and more widely used "College of Piping" method described later in this chapter. Tunnicliffe's remark, "...if they stick with it through

that stage it means they really want to play,” reveals in part the primary rationale behind the “College of Piping” method, although the “Exercises First” method was never designed or intended to weed out people who didn’t “really want to play.” With their “College of Piping” method, MacNeill and Pearston found that their strategy of introducing students to music more quickly resulted in greater student retention (Wallace, personal interview, March 2, 2011). While most teachers subscribe to a method allowing students to more quickly access simple tunes, many successful teachers still follow an extensive exercise regimen prior to introducing actual music to the student.

Tutor Books

Another fundamental tool of GHB education is the tutor book. Tutor books have existed in name since the mid-Nineteenth Century, but the quality and value of these books varies. Until 1948, all books claiming to be tutors were written without apparent regard for student learning, void of any attempt to provide a linear, graded process for development, and giving minimal amounts of explanation for all aspects of tuition. Initial attempts at written instruction followed a similar pattern of exposing all of the basic fundamentals of technique, after which the student launched immediately into tunes without regard for the difficulty of the piece. This format, referred to in this dissertation as the “Exercises First” method, still in use by some teachers, requires extended practice on basic fingering prior to initial exposure to actual music.

The first tutor to provide a systematic learning method was the *College of Piping Tutor*, first published in 1953. Coauthored by Seumas MacNeill and Thomas Pearston, the *College of Piping Tutor* is the most popular GHB method book in history. As of January 2014, the *College of Piping Tutor* has sold almost 400,000

copies worldwide, and has been translated into German, French, Italian, and Gaelic.⁹⁶ The College of Piping, one of the most far reaching educational institutions in the history of bagpiping, was founded by Seumas MacNeill and Thomas Pearston, using the methods taught to them by Seumas MacNeill's uncle, Archie MacNeill. This method, learning the minimum of grace notes then incorporating them into a tune, has proven to be a very easy and successful system (MacNeill, personal interview, March 3, 2011).

The "College of Piping" method introduces minimal technical requirements prior to the introduction of each new tune, thus allowing the student to begin playing tunes sooner than with the "Exercises First" method. By teaching minimal requirements before learning to play a tune, this innovative approach, which implemented much needed detailed instruction to each step in the learning process, revolutionized GHB music education (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.23).

As demonstrated by MacNeill and Pearston, each new generation often generates new ideas. For example, piper and teacher Andrew Douglas claims to have developed a new approach to teaching, which he calls "The GHB as an Extension of Yourself" (Douglas, Fall 2011, p.35). Douglas describes his dissatisfaction with what he views as the inadequate and impractical methods of the traditional stepwise approach found in most modern tutor books: "To me, the linear process laid out in these tutors is so far removed from the realities of music making, that I sometimes speculate it does more harm than good. Sure, it teaches you the notes of the scale, but it also will haunt your technique and musicality for years" (Fall 2011, p.35). Upon closer examination, however, rather than a complete departure from traditional

⁹⁶ Retrieved January 24, 2014: <http://shop.collegeofpiping.org/tutor-books/tutor-books-and-mp3-files/t1-college-tutor-part-one-and-cdrom>

instruction, Douglas appears to have repackaged the College of Piping method, with a few minor modifications. For instance, while Douglas teaches the scale essentially the same way as taught in the College of Piping method, he introduces scale runs and arpeggios prior to the first tunes, which is a modification of a lesson in the Logan's Tutor.⁹⁷ Following this, he quickly moves to tunes, but uses popular folk songs such as "Mary Had a Little Lamb" and "Jingle Bells," an unusual, but not unheard of, strategy, prior to advancing to traditional GHB tunes.⁹⁸ Douglas refers to his initial presentation of these tunes, which include "Scotland the Brave" and "Bonnie Dundee," as "prelude versions," which contain the melody with greatly simplified embellishments.⁹⁹ Later, he revises these tunes, gradually adding more difficult embellishments to the previously learned tunes.¹⁰⁰ Douglas appears to have taken the "College of Piping" method to an extreme, with each subsequent step being markedly smaller in magnitude than those found in the *College of Piping Tutor*. One supplemental idea initiated by Douglas stems from the name of his school, "Dojo University." As *dojo* is a name for a martial arts school, he has taken the martial arts "belt system" and created a stepwise program for advancement, essentially a creative repackaging of the proficiency exams offered by the Institute of Piping, which is nevertheless likely to add a measure of interest as students work up the ranks toward "Black Belt."¹⁰¹ All of the Dojo University materials are available online by subscription. Certainly, there is ample room for new and innovative teaching methods, and sensitive teachers are open to new concepts. However, despite almost two hundred years of innovations, the oldest known teaching method, oral/aural transmission, still retains its value.

⁹⁷ Retrieved December 12, 2013: <http://learn.dojouniversity.com>

⁹⁸ Retrieved December 12, 2013: <http://learn.dojouniversity.com>

⁹⁹ Retrieved December 12, 2013: <http://learn.dojouniversity.com>

¹⁰⁰ Retrieved December 12, 2013: <http://learn.dojouniversity.com>

¹⁰¹ Retrieved December 12, 2013: <http://learn.dojouniversity.com>

Oral Transmission/ Canntaireachd

The oldest method of teaching GHB music is singing or chanting, known as canntaireachd, especially appropriate in teaching piobaireachd (Bannatyne, 1904, p. 151). Piobaireachd was originally taught as an oral tradition, with each teacher passing down his knowledge by singing or playing to his pupils. Many people still consider this the best way to learn, because it is thought to be easier to comprehend the musical nature of a piece by singing than by simply reading the music.¹⁰²

In the opinion of many teachers, this is not only the best way to teach piobaireachd, it is the only acceptable method, for the reasons stated above. Within the parameters of musicality there are three broad, basic aspects: technique and execution; tuning and tonal quality; and musical expression. James McIntosh, MBE, discusses the value of oral instruction regarding the musical, as opposed to technical, transmission of piobaireachd:

Can we really say we are playing Piobaireachd if all we are doing is playing notes? Is that what the MacCrimmons, MacKays, Calum MacPherson, or John MacDonald did? I don't think so. This makes one ask the question, 'What did these great players do that was different?' They all learned by singing—the oral method—which automatically conveys the expression, song, and timing of the tune, qualities that written manuscripts do not show (Spring 1996, p.14).

One of the foremost piobaireachd teachers of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries was John MacDonald of Inverness. John MacDonald's primary teacher, Calum Piobaire MacPherson, used canntaireachd, and MacDonald considered that the writing of piobaireachd was "still in the experimental stages" (McKay, Summer 2000, p.42). McKay describes MacDonald's teaching methods, which were akin to the methods used by all of MacDonald's teachers:

¹⁰² Retrieved December 3, 2013:

http://www.piobaireachd.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49&Itemid=66

John required the pupil to memorise the music first, so that the written score should be set aside. He would sing the phrases in his own style of Canntaireachd... ..demonstrating this rhythm further by movements of his hand. The pupil then sang back what he understood, helped by the teacher's hand motion. Next, the pupil might go through the piece on the practice chanter. Finally, he was required to go away and mentally digest the whole process before committing it to the GHB. When the piece was played to him, John MacDonald would guide the timing with his hand, gradually withdrawing assistance as the pupil gained confidence (Summer 2000, p.42).

In addition to presenting a linear approach to instruction, McKay clearly notes that MacDonald used the written score as an aid to memorization, so that later, "...the written score should be set aside." McKay later remarks that canntaireachd's importance lies in how well it conveys the music, not in syllable consistency (Summer 2000, p.42). Nancy Tunnicliffe concurs, asserting that the syllables employed and the vocal quality of the instructor are inconsequential, merely serving as tools to help the student understand the nuance of the tune (Neville, Winter 1998, p.23). Teacher and judge Maureen Connor expands on MacDonald's "go for a walk" method, which aids understanding and memorization, encouraging students to sing in the shower, in the car, while doing housework, or when out for a walk (Connor, Summer 2011, p.27).

Robert Brown and Robert Nicol, both students of MacDonald, preferred and perpetuated MacDonald's teaching style. McKay states, "The reason for this preference stems partly from the nature of the instrument and partly from the tradition to which it belongs" (McKay, Summer 2000, p.42). Here McKay refers to "...the tradition to which it belongs," which might be more appropriately stated, "...the method from which it stems." Prior to the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, piping teachers taught exclusively through the oral method, not because of any "tradition," but simply because no written music existed for the GHB. James McIntosh, MBE, taught using his own form of canntaireachd, and often referred to

the lineage of his teachers using the same method, but he never cited “tradition” as a justification for perpetuating this method (Regan, personal recollection, January 2, 2014). Rather, he and his teachers taught by singing because they thought it was the most effective way to teach.

William Ross, himself a contemporary of MacDonald, also adhered to the oral method, especially in piobaireachd instruction, insisting on canntaireachd (Woolard, Winter 2002, p.26). The degree to which Ross adhered to established canntaireachd vocables, or whether he followed the apparent practice of his contemporaries in developing his own vocables, is not known. The important point, however, is that Ross used some form of oral instruction.

Most teachers in the United States apparently employ some form of oral technique in their teaching, especially in piobaireachd. Teacher and judge Roddy MacDonald explains his rationale for using selected canntaireachd vocables in his teaching: “I’ll go through the canntaireachd with them... ..and they’ll say, ‘Oh, so you can sing it!’ So when I’m teaching piobaireachd I use all these terms... ..and this helps them to understand how to play the movement better” (personal interview, February 23, 2013). MacDonald’s example of using parts of the canntaireachd vocabulary indicate a willingness to employ certain useful aspects of a tool rather than simply adhering to tradition.

Further illustrating a progressive approach to the use of singing, rather than the strict adherence to pure canntaireachd, and the use of written music as an aid to learning, rather than a pedantic insistence on a purely oral method, one of the foremost proponents of the so-called “oral tradition” in the United States, James McIntosh, MBE, has developed his own vocabulary. Loosely based on traditional canntaireachd, Nancy Tunnicliffe describes McIntosh’s adaptation as well as her

gradual departure from the strict use of the Nether Lorne canntaireachd, which she had carefully memorized and diligently utilized prior to her exposure to McIntosh: “As I listened more to Jimmy I realized... ..he was singing syllables that had just come to him—“Sheilie-aye-bo” being my particular favorite. So these syllables of his gradually crept into my own singing” (Neville, Winter 1998, p.23).¹⁰³ Tunncliffe confirms that while McIntosh sang the melody, the students played along on practice chanters, sight reading the score as they did so (Neville, Winter 1998, p.23). Tunncliffe continues, discussing the value and rationale of oral transmission, especially in the early stages of piobaireachd instruction, arguing that singing takes out the mechanics of playing the instrument, which allows the student to concentrate on music rather than technique: “We’ve all got a voice. It’s easy to use, and even pipers of different degrees of technical ability can all sit down together and sing with pretty much the same level of expertise. It’s a great leveler, a great teaching tool” (Neville, Winter 1998, p.24). However, teacher and judge Albert McMullin, also a former student of James McIntosh, differs with Tunncliffe on this point, noting a perceived reluctance on the part of Americans to participate in this type of learning: “...[I]t’s kind of a tricky thing because most people in this side of the Atlantic are little bit conscious of their voice and don’t really want to sing, and they’re not good singers...” (personal interview, July 31, 2011). McMullin’s observation shows a tremendous sensitivity to the student’s emotional welfare, not often considered by teachers. Some authorities argue that the value of oral transmission is occasionally overstated. David Murray scoffs at the notion that the nuance of piobaireachd can only be understood by singing: “It is also a received belief that no one will ever be able to play the tune as well as they can sing it. Personally, I would have given up

¹⁰³ “Nether Lorne” is the name of one of two common systemized formats of canntaireachd, the other being referred to as the “Gesto” canntaireachd (<http://schoolofpiping.com/articles/canntaireachd.pdf> retrieved January 28, 2014).

many years before I did if I hadn't been able to play a Piobaireachd a lot better than I could sing it!" (Fall 2003, p.17). From these comments it appears that while teachers often use a form of oral transmission, they are not necessarily tied to a strict presentation of canntaireachd. Furthermore, teachers are divided on the roles aural and written transmission play in GHB music learning. Although everyone seems to favour some form of oral methodology, apparently no authority advocates the oral method to the exclusion of written music. Rather, the written score becomes a valuable aid to memory, greatly reducing the time required to memorize the music, and enhancing the learning experience.

KEY COMPONENTS OF GHB INSTRUCTION

Having established the relationship between written, oral and rote methods, this dissertation now examines the actual teaching practices regarding various components of GHB instruction. This section seeks to describe and compare the various methods employed by successful teachers. These foundational building blocks include: basic technique; memory work; theory instruction; ear training and sight reading; transitioning to the GHB; tuning; and piobaireachd.

Basic Technique

Grace notes of varying levels of complexity embellish GHB music, giving it its distinct character. Grace notes require practice until they become effortless, and clean technique depends on strict attention to the correct execution of embellishments. However, the simpler embellishments are often overlooked by students and teachers alike, in favour of practicing the more difficult movements. Students often face misconceptions when practicing, disregarding the deceptive difficulty of simpler movements, which many teachers allow their students to gloss over in order to spend more time working on the more complicated movements such

as D throws, birls, and taorluaths (Tunnickliffe, Final 1995, p.40).¹⁰⁴ Tunnickliffe, however, found "...[F]rom a teaching and a judging perspective, that most people find tachums and doublings harder to play correctly (Final 1995, p.40).¹⁰⁵ Tunnickliffe warns that attention must be paid to the simple embellishments as well as to the more complex ones. In offering advice to beginners, piper Ian MacLellan, like most music teachers, emphasizes correct playing as the foundational component in a complete regime of learning, admonishing students to practice slowly, deliberately, and correctly, making certain execution is consistent before increasing speed (McIntosh, Summer 1995, p.25).

The specific methods used by teachers to introduce basic execution vary, mostly between two schools of thought, referred to herein as the "Exercises First" method, and the "College of Piping" method. The "Exercises First" method subjects the student to an extensive regimen of scales and exercises prior to receiving his first tune. Duncan MacGillvray recounts his early instruction in the "Exercises First" method, which was idiomatic of GHB instruction prior to the appearance of the *College of Piping Tutor*: "It was very strict, scales, that was it. You had to get nine scales off first of all, before you started the tune. It was quite a long apprenticeship, really, on the practice chanter. I suppose it would have been a couple of years" (Kent and Rogers, Winter 2001, p.27). Canadian teacher and judge Reay MacKay was taught by his father with the same method, noting that he was required by his father to remain on scales and exercises for almost two years: "...[A]nd by the time he was finished with me, and I sat down and played tunes, most of those things were almost letter perfect. But today the standard is, 'Let's get in to play things.' He didn't abide

¹⁰⁴ D throws, birls and taorluaths are examples of complex, difficult, multiple grace note embellishments.

¹⁰⁵ Tachums and doublings are examples of simple, multiple grace note embellishments.

by that at all. His philosophy was, ‘If you can't play an F doubling, well then, you can't play tunes’” (personal interview, February 24, 2102).

Seumas MacNeill and Thomas Pearston thought it unreasonable to burden children with scales and exercises for an extended period of time, observing they would often lose interest in playing long before being given their first tune. For this reason they developed the “College of Piping” method, based on the philosophies of their teacher, Archie MacNeill, consisting of giving the student only the embellishments he needs to know for the next tune, allowing the student to begin playing music after a few lessons. Since the inception of the *College of Piping Tutor*, other teachers have published numerous variations of the “College of Piping” method.¹⁰⁶

Not everyone who subscribes to the “College of Piping” method necessarily uses the *College of Piping Tutor*. Reay MacKay, who does not use the *College of Piping Tutor*, contrasts his teaching method with that of his father, described earlier, who taught using the “Exercises First” method: “I try and get somebody on a tune immediately, but something that is extremely simple... Almost like the Suzuki method, you know? Again, it's my teacher training, when I saw how some of the music teachers were teaching things” (personal interview, February 24, 2012). MacKay’s experience as a school teacher has enabled him to adapt his GHB teaching to fit the needs and learning styles of his students.

Although the “College of Piping” method is probably the most widespread method used today, some successful teachers continue to use the “Exercises First” method. Canadian teacher and judge Gail Brown keeps her students on a strict regimen of scales for several months prior to the introduction of their first tune, and

¹⁰⁶ A comparative study of tutor books may be found in Appendix 6.1.

in contrast to the individualized and customized instruction offered by Lindsay and Tunnicliffe, applies the same regimen to all of her students: “I could give them ‘Highland Wedding’ after six months and they could sight read that. Right or wrong, good or bad, I don’t know, but that’s the system that works best for me. So they all learn the same way” (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.21). Brown, who primarily teaches children, says she maintains a very high retention rate with her students, indicating that the “Exercises First” method does not necessarily dissuade students from continuing (personal correspondence, November 24, 2012).

With any type of learning comes the potential for pitfalls, and GHB instruction is no exception to this rule. Two common obstacles to good playing include trying to skip the basics, and trying to play too fast (Mason, Summer 2008, p.54). Impatience on the part of the learner is of concern to most teachers. The desire, especially among children and youth, is to play fast tunes, coupled with the tendency to try to play tunes at or above their proper speed before the student is physically capable of playing cleanly at that speed (Connor, Spring 2012, p.35). It becomes the teacher’s responsibility to guide, and at times require the impatient student to practice slowly, ensuring correct playing.

Memorization

The custom of memorizing music comes, perhaps, from the oral tradition of bagpiping, prior to the development of GHB staff notation, when all music was taught exclusively through *canntaireachd*; pipers had no choice other than to memorize their music. It might, therefore, come as a shock to many pipers that the pianist Clara Schumann is noted as being the first “musician” to play in public without a score, although memorization did not become standard practice for performers until the end of the Nineteenth Century (Smith, 2008, p.2). In fact,

throughout the Twentieth Century the value of memorized performances was still subject to discussion and occasional disagreement (Williamson, 1999).

The study of memory as it relates specifically to music began in the late Nineteenth Century as a response to the growing trend of memorized performances. Early researchers advocated music analysis and ear training, rather than rote learning as an aid to memorization (Shinn, 1896, and Goodrich, 1906). Since then, music educators have presented a growing body of research on various aspects of music memory (Mishra, 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Smith, 2008; Bernardi, et al. 2011). However, even though the GHB culture requires precisely memorized music, GHB literature provides very little mention of memory development.

To begin to understand memorization requires a brief discussion of learning styles. For the purposes this study, four modal preferences for learning will be considered, described as visual, aural, reading (writing), and kinesthetic (tactile), sometimes referred to by the acronym “VARK” (Fleming and Mills, p.140). The four different learning styles elicit four different kinds of memory, which can aid in remembering music. Visual memory deals with visual aspects of music making. In a nonmusical learning environment, visual learning would be achieved through pictures rather than words. In the GHB studio, visual memory might be achieved through watching the teacher’s hand as he directs or conducts the student’s playing. Auditory memory describes memory used to remember music as it is heard, and verbal instructions from a teacher. Auditory memory allows learners to recall, then imitate sound using the voice or an instrument. Reading (writing) memory takes place when the student reads or writes music. Kinesthetic or tactile memory allows musicians to remember how it feels to play a certain movement, subsequently storing those movements as muscle memory. Dybvig and Church (2012) do not distinguish

between reading (writing) and visual, but do make a distinction between kinesthetic, which refers to whole body movement, and tactile, which they define as specific to the fingers and the sense of touch.

Because GHB culture requires the performer to play music only from memory, bagpipers tend to develop exceptional memories for their music. However, Dzubak (2007) draws a distinction between learning and memorizing, where learning could be defined as acquiring knowledge, comprehension and understanding, in contrast to memorization, which means committing to memory, usually as a result of repetitive practice, without necessarily involving comprehension or understanding.

By this definition, one could understand a piece of music without having it memorized, and conversely, could memorize a piece without understanding it. In the latter case, “rote learning” might be more accurately referred to as “rote memorization.” Confirming Dzubak’s distinctions, Fred Morrison, Sr., and James McIntosh, MBE, who were both students of Robert Brown and Robert Nicol, often recalled that Brown and Nicol would tell them, “Memorize it. Then we’ll learn it” (Regan, personal recollection, January 23, 2014). Their comment echoes the description of John MacDonald’s teaching described earlier.

One of the most frustrating challenges facing GHB teachers is that of a student who seems to be unable to memorize music. Dougald MacNeill discusses an example of one student, an adult beginner, who had difficulty with memorization, who he soon realized depended on the music completely: “She just could not remember a melody. So much so that I said, ‘Look. It’s Jimmy’s birthday tonight. Could you remind us how Happy Birthday goes?’ And she said, ‘No, I couldn’t.’ She was absolutely devoid of melody recognition or retention. It was tragic” (personal interview, March 3, 2011). MacNeill asserts that being able to sing or hum or

whistle, to “carry a tune” in some manner, is absolutely essential to memory: “...[B]ecause, without that, you can learn a succession of notes, but you have to have the timing and the feeling” (personal interview, March 3, 2011).

Canadian piper, teacher, and judge, Reay MacKay, a popular instructor at summer camps and workshops in the United States, describing his frustration with what often appears to be an insurmountable obstacle to learning, shares a similar story about one of his students, an excellent player who has unusual difficulty memorizing music: “I draw a complete blank on that one. When he's learning piobaireachd, he'll learn... ..two tunes, but when he starts to get into four or five it's gone. You might as well write him off because there's no way that boy's going to learn all those tunes” (personal interview, February 24, 2012).

Drummer Alex Duthart suggests that not reading music can sometimes be a benefit to memorization. Using one non-reading student as an example, Duthart states:

I have a young drummer playing with me, an excellent drummer from Ireland... ..and he never learned to read a note! He'll have to stick it out... He's got a great pair of hands—a nice technical, musical player. ...but he never learned to read or write. But what a memory! You see, without the reading, he's got a memory, boy! He memorizes everything! That's awfully important, too. You need both (Quigg, Summer 2000, p.22).

In pointing out the necessity of also learning to read and write, Duthart clearly does not advocate simple rote learning as an end in itself, although many drummers appear to use the rote learning method almost exclusively. This concern is addressed in greater detail later in this chapter in the section on sight reading and theory instruction.

Other memorization techniques include one suggested by tenor drumming instructor Linda Hall (Spring 2011, p.31) who recommends sometimes playing

through the entire piece, regardless of mistakes. Hall's idea, when used in context with other types of practice, builds musicality and continuity into the performance, which in turn aid memory work. Seumas MacNeill advocated playing from the note immediately prior to any mistake, as opposed to the practice of some students to start over from the very beginning of the tune, asserting that starting over from the beginning every time results in the first few measures being perfect, and the last few measures being neglected. While not directly intended to aid memory, this practice allows the tune to be learned as a whole piece rather than sequentially by phrase. Additionally, the *College of Piping Tutor, Part 1* advocates writing every piece of music into a manuscript book as an essential aid to both sight reading and memory (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, pp.34, 47). Goodrich (1906, p.10), however, opposes this practice, although he does not specify why. When a student has difficulty memorizing a particular tune, one strategy is to have the student write the piece in his manuscript book, saying the names of the notes and embellishments as he does so. This technique combines visual, aural (verbal), reading, and writing learning techniques, and seems to greatly enhance a student's ability to memorize the piece. Unfortunately, all of the respondents to questions on memory instruction indicated that they were at a loss in dealing with severe memory difficulties, and many of them intimated that they were so frustrated by this issue, that when it occurred, they would eventually give up on the student.

Theory Instruction

Students as well as teachers often shy away from the study of theory. Teachers sometimes avoid the subject because of a lack of confidence in their own knowledge, and because of the view that practice is more important than the theoretical knowledge behind the practice. Sperl (Fall 1997, p.12) and MacNeill

(Winter 1998, p.19) found an almost complete absence of theory instruction at summer schools, workshops, band practices, or studio lessons, throughout the United States and Canada.

Because of widespread reluctance to teach theory, many in the bagpiping community agree that musicians from other traditions generally have a greater understanding and appreciation of music theory than do pipers or drummers (MacNeil, Winter 1998, p.19). The concept that the bagpiping community lags behind other musical traditions in theory instruction is not entirely accurate, as evidenced by the ignorance of music theory often found among many freshman college music majors. However, music theory as it applies to the GHB is finite and relatively simple, especially compared to other instruments, and a growing number of teachers insist there is no excuse for neglecting its study (Lee, Winter 2001, p.53).

One problem with theory instruction is that GHB teachers often misunderstand what they themselves have been taught. Competitor and judge Chris Hamilton discusses the relative note values of even eighth notes in simple time:

Whenever pairs of 8th notes are joined within a bar, it is imperative to slightly over-hold the first 8th note of the pair, and of course pare down the second 8th note (a kind of 51% to 49% ratio). A perfect example is in the third part of 'Prince Charles Welcome to Lochaber'. If this part is played straight, with each 8th note pair given the same length of play, monotony sets in quickly. But if the first note of each pair is slightly increased in length (the D-throws and the double-B) and the Low As or second notes of each pair are slightly decreased, a call and answer accenting effect results, and the tune develops a nice swing (Hamilton, Fall 2004, p.28).

This is simply not correct. In simple time, two eighth notes in the same beat should be played evenly, so contrast occurs when a dotted rhythm does appear. Hamilton, a well-respected and successful competitor, teacher, and judge, and otherwise knowledgeable musician, shows in this example a fundamental misunderstanding of basic music theory and relative note values.

Another example showing lack of theoretical knowledge and understanding can be observed in comments made by Linda Hall as she describes tenor drum tuning. In a chart on relative pitch, Hall lists the scale degrees as: G# Bb C D Eb F G G# Bb (Fall 2012, p.16). This is not correct. Scales should be written alphabetically, so to be correct from a theoretical perspective, the enharmonic G# should properly be spelled Ab, making the correct spelling of the scale: Ab Bb C D Eb F G Ab Bb (Keegan-Phipps, 2008, p.123). Hall is a respected, accomplished teacher and performer, who has taught many successful tenor drummers, and who, like many otherwise knowledgeable members of the bagpiping community, lacks correct basic theoretical knowledge.

In an effort to make theory understandable, drummer Michael Eagle attempts to break down the reading process by comparing it to learning to read English. Writing to drummers, he states:

The reading process is simple: combinations of letters equal sentences; combinations of sentence equal paragraphs; combinations of paragraphs equal chapters; and so on. The very same process applies to all types of drummers and percussionists: combinations of *hand motions* equal *rudiments*; combinations of *rudiments* equal *measures* or *bars*; combinations of *measures* or *bars* equal (what many different Celtic musicians refer to as) *parts*; combinations of *parts* equal *tunes* and combinations of *tunes* equal *sets* (Spring 2011, p.32).

Eagle's simplistic approach makes sense as a general description of how music is developed, but his comments do very little to help with the specifics of comprehension. Nevertheless, most music theory as it applies to the GHB is relatively simple, especially in comparison to other aspects of music such as harmonic theory and counterpoint. Piper Rick Perkins, who instructs a youth band in Virginia, has made a game of it for his students. Piper Charlotte Lowe reports: "Perkins is excited about the alterations in his teaching style that educating children

has made. When asked how long a quarter note is held, all the children will chorus, “FOREVER!” (Lowe, Spring 1999, p.46).

In an effort to bring bagpipers and drummers up to par with other musicians, the RSPBA developed the “Structured Learning Series,” an extensive music curriculum designed to provide a broad base of general music theory to pipers and drummers in an effort to place pipers and drummers on an equal footing with other musicians (Tunncliffe, Winter 1998, p.21). The RSPBA intended to bring a greater awareness of general music theory to pipers and drummers by introducing subjects such as Key Signatures, Cadences, Transposing, and Transcribing, at a level not normally required in the traditional pipe band idiom, because many pipe bands increasingly find themselves involved in multi-instrument events such as recordings, concerts, and tattoos (Duncan, Winter 1998, p.16).

Piper Barnaby Brown points out that even with programs such as the “Structured Learning Series,” the very language of the GHB does not perfectly coincide with the rest of Western music, and this must be reconciled prior to further interaction with the rest of Western music tradition:

What do the words “major,” “minor,” “scale,” “mode,” and “Mixolydian” actually mean? Should we be using these terms the way other musicians do, or can we stretch their meaning to fit our music without causing confusion? How many pipers can explain the difference between “B minor” as used in Highland bagpiping since the 1970s, and “B minor” as used in the Western world since the 1700s? (Fall 2004, p.24).

Brown appears to suggest that even using the same terminology, GHB music cannot conform to the rest of Western music. Although he presents valid concerns, Brown overstates them. Terms can be “stretched” to fit, while still using them the way other

musicians do.¹⁰⁷ Bagpipers often face the challenge that while the typical piper knows very little about music theory, even as it applies to the GHB, and much less about other instruments, the typical non-bagpiping musician knows absolutely nothing about the GHB. Because of the marginal presence the GHB holds in the rest of the musical world, such ignorance of the GHB on the part of other musicians is unlikely to change. If bagpipers anticipate interaction with other musicians, the bagpipers must learn their language, not the other way around.

Lack of theory instruction manifests itself in one other application: composition. In order to be an effective composer for the GHB, one must have a solid grounding in theory, at least as it applies specifically to GHB music. Sadly, many pipers who might otherwise enjoy composing music are denied this creative outlet due to lack of technical ability. From a personal satisfaction perspective, this is a shame. Since practically all bagpipers practice their art as amateurs, anything that would increase the piper's enjoyment of his hobby should be considered important to the development of the piper.

Reay MacKay, an avid composer and arranger, views additional grounding in harmonic theory as vital for all composers, but especially for those who attempt to write harmonies: "If you don't know the chord structures behind this stuff, then you shouldn't be out there writing harmonies. I'll write down on a score sheet that the A and C should not be played at that particular point, and they look at me like I've got three heads because they don't even know what I'm talking about" (personal interview, February 24, 2012). Otherwise proficient pipers throughout the piping community sadly lack the ability to read and write fluently. Many assert this aspect

¹⁰⁷ To answer the question posed by Brown about the different definitions of "B minor," three different forms of minor scale: natural; harmonic; and melodic, have been used in common practice harmony since at least the mid-Eighteenth Century. The pitch "B" on the GHB currently transposes to approximately "C" in Western music.

of teaching practice should be addressed in the future in the hope that an increased understanding of theory on the part of teachers will lead to more and better theory instruction.

Ear Training and Sight Reading

Some pipers and drummers find theory so daunting, they prefer to learn by ear. This appears to be especially true of drummers. Drummers David Wonsey and Eddie Asten confirm ear learning as the standard method of learning among pipe band drummers in the United States. Describing their introduction to Scottish drumming in the early 1970s, they state:

DW: All show and tell... no written music. Eddie and I started writing everything down.

EA: Incorrectly. (laughing) It was *sort of* correct. You guys all know that pipe band stuff is so complex, for kids who were in junior high school, we had no clue really how to do it correctly (Quigg, Summer 2004, p.25).

John Quigg confirms the recollections of Wonsey and Asten as he affirms the universal presence of drumming illiteracy in a conversation with Gordon Parkes, lead drummer of the Grade I Field Marshal Montgomery Pipe Band of Northern Ireland:

JQ: My own drumming education didn't start out with any written music, and I know that the Irish corps are known for that same kind of rote method of learning.

GP: My first thirteen to fourteen years of drumming didn't involve any written music at all. It was all learning by ear. We have had to take very experienced players who have been playing for a long time, who have never read a note, and really start to teach them the basics in terms of musical notation. A lot of players are starting to read and write, but most players will be taught first of all by ear and then learn to write afterwards (Quigg, Summer 1995, p.23).

Although Quigg understands and appreciates the value of written music as an asset to learning and comprehension, he asserts there are definite and distinct advantages to learning by ear, which include: an increased mental acuity; shorter memorization time; and a tendency to more quickly achieve tighter unison (Final 1995, p.23).

Parkes agrees with Quigg's assertions that learning by ear increases memory speed, suggesting learning music from the written score holds one disadvantage: musicians tend become dependent on the written score, to the detriment of their own memory (Quigg, Final 1995, p.23). However, Quigg and Parkes consider a blended approach the best learning method, incorporating both ear training and sight reading, resulting in: "...[A] more musical player who is trained and able to read music. That is why a combination of both is essential. Every player needs to be able to read and write, and then be able to retain the information very quickly as well" (Quigg, Final 1995, p.23).

Although bagpipers are not shackled by such a heavy dependency on the oral/aural instruction often found in drumming instruction, the oral tradition of teaching GHBs continues to strongly influence GHB instruction to the present day. Many teachers introduce new music by playing it for the student, rather than allowing or requiring the student to sight read it for himself first. This practice continues to adversely impact piper's ability to sight read music. Scottish piper and teacher Robert Kilgour describes his experiences as a member of the Scots Guards: "Most pipers can read music, but at the same time there is a tradition for learning by ear. When I first joined the Scots Guards we almost never had any music on the table, and you used your eyes and you used your ears" (Hermansson, 2003, p.223). Kilgour goes on to describe the procedure of call and response, where the leader played the tune first, followed by the most experienced players, and the rest joining in on each repeat, with the beginners joining in gradually as they were able: "By the time he got around to the newcomer... ...he may have heard the tune (between sixteen and a hundred times) so he should really know it by that time" (Hermansson,

2003, p.223). Combining sight reading with this type of repetition provides an even more successful method of enhancing the memorization process.

Waldron's (2006, p.i) findings support the statements of Wonsey, Asten, Quigg, Parkes, and Kilgour, discovering that many musicians within the traditional Celtic community prefer the oral/aural learning in exclusion to written music. In her study of the teaching methods of instructors at the Goderic Celtic College, all of whom were folk musicians, Waldron found most of the teachers employed various aural/oral approaches because those were the methods with which they were most familiar and comfortable (2006, p.i). Waldron's respondents insisted the only way to achieve mastery in Celtic music was through aural/oral learning, and it was generally considered acceptable to use the written score only as a starting point or memory aid to "fill in the blanks" (2006, p.84). Waldron's findings coincide with the views of many GHB teachers, that some presence of oral/aural instruction is best, especially regarding piobaireachd, although unlike the teachers at the Goderic School, few, if any, GHB teachers advocate oral/aural transmission to the exclusion of written music.

Another, less widely used method, requires the student to initially sight read the tune before the teacher comments in any way. This method requires the student to become a good sight reader, ultimately taking a greater responsibility in his development as a musician. However, emphasizing sight reading can be a challenge for some students, who would initially be unfamiliar with GHB music notation, as well as for some GHB teachers, who would likely not have been taught with an emphasis on sight reading in their own development.

A survey conducted in 2009 as a pilot study to this present research revealed a weakness in teaching practice regarding sight reading development. The study

found that only 62 percent of teachers usually require their students to sight read a piece of music when it is first introduced, and more than 87 percent initially play the tune for their students at least occasionally (Regan, 2009, unpaginated). Respondents were not asked to justify their teaching practices, but one possible reason for the seemingly widespread disregard for development of sight reading skills is that unlike other musicians, bagpipers are never required to sight read in performance. In fact, unlike most other Western musicians, bagpipers always perform their music from memory. Perhaps GHB instructors rationalize sight reading is not a particularly practical skill within the tradition, other than as an aid to learning music faster. Piper William MacCallum argues that fluent sight reading is of great value to learning a tune quickly, having been taught "...[T]o pick up a tune and play it at speed right away. It helps when you're learning tunes, especially the light music—you can more or less get it going right away" (Spicer, Fall 2000, pp.21-22). In contrast to MacCallum, MacKay suggests sight reading is important, but fluency is not vital, suggesting instead the most important factor in learning to be a good piper is ear training (MacKay, personal interview, February 24, 2012). While the ability to sight read can be beneficial to the learning process, tune memorization for most students is largely a "by ear" activity. Many pipers seem to realize the most obvious benefit of sight reading is being able to internally hear the music from the onset of the learning process. A quantitative study to determine how sight reading influences such things as speed and accuracy of memorization would be of tremendous value for suggesting protocols for enhancing teaching practice.

Transition to the GHB

The GHB is one of the few instruments requiring the beginner to initially learn to play on a different instrument, namely, the practice chanter.¹⁰⁸ Bagpipers use the practice chanter throughout their career to learn new tunes before playing them on the GHB. There are several paths to transitioning from the practice chanter to the GHB.

One popular and established method is to use a “goose,” a practice instrument consisting of a blowpipe and a practice chanter attached to a pipe bag. No drones are attached. The goose allows the student to learn the basics of bag manipulation without the added challenge of the drones or a stronger pipe chanter reed. Not widely used in the United States, this method is popular in Scotland and in parts of Canada. Piper and teacher Alasdair Gillies confirms that the goose is used frequently in Scotland (Balderose, Summer 1997, p. 26). The Simon Fraser University organization of Vancouver, Canada, uses a goose for beginners because the students enjoy the transition, viewing it as one step closer to playing the full GHB (Rogers and McGonigal, Summer 1995, p.30).

Nancy Tunnicliffe suggests omitting the goose, using instead a stepwise approach to transitioning directly onto the GHB, beginning with one drone only until the student can blow steadily, smoothly, and naturally, with no obvious arm movement, at which point a second drone is added. Tunnicliffe asserts because drones are relatively easy to blow, students can achieve steadiness without particular physical effort. When the student can power all three drones without difficulty, Tunnicliffe adds the chanter (Spring 2001, p.19). Australian piper and teacher Brent

¹⁰⁸ A practice chanter is a small, quiet instrument, made up of a modified pipe chanter with a mouthpiece attached directly to the chanter. Absent are the bag and the drones. The practice chanter is much easier to blow, and ideally suited for learning new music or for perfecting the details of a work in progress.

Tidswell concurs with Tunnicliffe's method (Spring 2010, p.45). Tunnicliffe presents her rationale for this graduated process: "In this teaching plan, the student can focus on just one thing at a time: first, blowing steadily while not having to finger anything, then drone tuning, then walking or marching while still not having to finger anything, then finally adding fingering as the last component" (Spring 2001, p.19). Some variation of a graduated, stepwise approach appears to be used by most teachers.

One aspect of GHB playing that is often not considered is the physical comfort of the player. Obstacles to physical comfort often begin with the positioning of the GHB. Appropriate bag size, blowpipe length, drone spacing, and stock positioning relative to the size and shape of the player are vital to comfort and good posture. A "one-size-fits-all" approach to instrument setup, often found with beginner's GHBs arriving with generic dimensions from the seller, is often detrimental to the student. This is particularly true with small or young players, who often struggle with a bag that is too large or a blowpipe that is too long. Teacher and judge John Recknagel expands on this concern: "The obvious problem with the pipes aside from the bag is often the length of the blowpipe. I've seen young players with a blowpipe sticking out of the side of their cheek while playing" (December 1992, p.13). Some teachers require their students to purchase an adjustable blowpipe, in addition to an appropriately sized bag and properly spaced drones, for the reasons indicated by Recknagel. However, as Tunnicliffe laments, many teachers seem to ignore size considerations, as evidenced by the number of smaller bagpipers straining with oversized and uncomfortable instruments.

Tuning

Once the student is physically able to keep the GHB going steadily, the next consideration in learning to play is learning to tune the instrument. Tuning requires ear training and instrument control, skills which, along with proper GHB maintenance, another vital skill, can be taught from a student's earliest lessons (Hinchey, Summer 1998, p.11). As with transitioning to the GHB, many teachers advocate a "stepwise approach" to tuning. Tidswell suggests taking the chanter completely out of the GHB and tuning the drones separately (Spring 2010, p.45). By removing the chanter from the equation, the student has to think only of the sound of the drones. When the student achieves proficiency at this level, the chanter is added (Tidswell, Spring 2010, p. 45). Bottomley recommends a variant of the "drones only" technique to practice tuning, first removing the chanter and replacing it with a rubber stopper in the chanter stock, then working to blow precise, steady pressure, while practicing tuning the drones with no chanter sound to distract the pupil (Summer 2010, p.39). Steady pressure is vital to accurate tuning, because unsteady pressure will cause the drone pitch to fluctuate.

Hand held electronic tuners have been used by bagpipers for several years. Although many teachers perceive value in electronic tuners, using one to tune a solo GHB is not considered to be appropriate by most respondents. Bottomley states: "As a judge, I often see teachers using a tuning meter on their students' drones. When they're done, the drones sound great. Then when the student actually plays, the drones are out again. I have never heard this system work. Ever" (Summer 2011, p.6). In this example the student is the issue, not the electronic tuner, because an inexperienced player often blows at one pressure while tuning, and another pressure, usually higher, while playing, which Bottomley points out, asserting that the tuner

can often be of great value to a pipe band (Summer 2011, p.6). Tunnicliffe likewise prefers to help her students develop their ears, rather than allow them to depend on tuners (Summer 2000, p.17). Ultimately, the student must take responsibility for the sound of his own instrument, and this requires the ear to be developed.

Piobaireachd

Piobaireachd is often referred to as “classical” GHB music because of its structural similarity to the western classical form of “theme and variations,” and because it was developed in the Sixteenth through Nineteenth Centuries, sometimes considered the “classical” period of bagpiping (Murray, Fall 2003, p.17).¹⁰⁹ Some teachers do not customarily teach piobaireachd to rank beginners, but others support starting piobaireachd instruction soon after a pupil is advanced enough to learn the basic piobaireachd embellishments. One concern, however, is finding appropriate music for beginners. Many piobaireachds are technically very simple, but the teacher is responsible for appropriate tune selection, and this requires teachers to be knowledgeable with the available repertoire. Hanley (Spring 1996, p.31) suggests many teachers often rely only on tunes with which they are familiar, which might be too challenging for a beginning student, rather than seeking out new tunes of an appropriate difficulty level. James McIntosh, MBE, one of the most prolific and successful teachers in the United States, confirms Hanley’s assertion (Spring 1996, p.14). McIntosh suggests the EUSPBA print a list of simple, instructional tunes for lower grades, allowing students to learn how to balance musical phrasing, technique, and speed, before progressing to more challenging and complex selections (Spring 1996, p.14). While this is sound advice, the individual talent and ability of the

¹⁰⁹ Describing piobaireachd as “theme and variations” is misleading, because the pure theme is never played. Even the “urlar” or opening statement of the piece is a variation on the pure theme. To be accurate, piobaireachd should be described as “variation and variations.”

student should be considered. Many pipers initially have difficulty with even the easiest piobaireachd, but some are able to handle much more challenging pieces. Understandably, a simple tune might bore a student capable of tackling a more difficult piece.

In terms of developing musicality, McIntosh holds distinct views on the correct way to teach piobaireachd. Complaining about the metronomic nature of some piper's piobaireachd performances, often caused by foot tapping, McIntosh states, "I was asked by a beginner if it was all right to beat time in Piobaireachd. I don't allow any of my students to tap their feet, as it will be very difficult to get a smooth flow and song effect in your playing. My teacher said, 'Play from your heart, not your feet'" (Summer 2000, p.14). Not everyone agrees with this restriction, and Seumas MacNeill, Hugh MacCallum, and Dr. John MacAskill, all of whom were Gold Medallists, tapped their feet in the doubling variations of various piobaireachds when they performed recitals in Texas in the 1970s (Regan, personal recollection, January 25, 2014). Although looked down upon by many authorities, foot tapping in piobaireachd is not unheard of today even at the highest levels.

McIntosh posits that phrasing is the single most important aspect of good piobaireachd playing, which includes relative speeds between the singling and doubling of variations, and he asserts this concept should be introduced at the earliest stages of learning piobaireachd:

Phrasing gives the feeling of relaxation and composure and the illusion of so much time to do things. I have stressed this in previous articles and used the term, 'Let your music breathe.' Two days after Christmas, I listened to a TV program on Isaac Stern teaching in China. He stopped a student and said, 'Let your music breathe. Only then will you create a phrase and make your music say something.' (Spring 2001, p.16).

Attention to phrasing, or lack thereof in piobaireachd, sometimes reveals itself even at the highest levels. Jack Taylor states, “Some players in the Gold Medal, even though they appeared to have worked hard, and are very able players, seemed to lack some of the basics of Piobaireachd playing, and would have produced superior music with just a little guidance” (Spring 1996, p.46). Here Taylor distinguishes between technical perfection and musicality, a difference sometimes lost on the listener. Often this issue derives from players who, having achieved technical and tonal proficiency, assume they can develop musically without need of further instruction.

Echoing Taylor’s remarks, David Murray discusses the custom of many pipers to adhere to the written piobaireachd score, expecting the score alone to convey the musical intent of the piece, often to their disappointment when, after completing a technically flawless performance, they find themselves excluded from the prize list (Summer 1996, p.6). Murray unfavourably compares these pipers to other musicians: “Other musicians accept that the score is basically a piece of paper with marks on it from which the musician has to extract the music. Indeed, as Charles Ives, the eminent American composer, once said, ‘The music is not in the notes’” (Summer 1996, p.6).

Archibald Campbell of Kilberry, often referred to as “Kilberry,” author of perhaps the single most popular and influential Twentieth Century collection of piobaireachd, and a recognized authority on piobaireachd, agrees with McIntosh, Taylor, and Murray. Murray confirms Kilberry’s sentiment in his own words: “As Kilberry himself has said, ‘The only true guide is the music,’ and by the music he did not mean the printed score but the melody recorded” (Summer 1996, p.6).

What has become an almost fanatical adherence by some pipers to the printed score stems from two sources, the *Piobaireachd Society Collection* and the *Kilberry*

Book of Ceol Mor. In the case of the *Kilberry Book of Ceol Mor*, this was intended to be a record of the style of two of Archibald Campbell's teachers, John MacDougall Gillies and Alexander Cameron (Summer 1996, p.6). According to Murray, "By all accounts, Archibald Campbell of Kilberry was the last man to have sought to set himself up as the ultimate authority on the playing of Piobaireachd" (Summer 1996, p.6). The reason for the bagpiping world's veneration of Kilberry might be more a product of economics than music. The "Kilberry Book," as it is often called, for all its apparent flaws continues to be for many the most affordable collection of piobaireachd on the market. The College of Piping lists the "Kilberry Book," which contains 117 tunes, at £25 compared to £15 for a single "Piobaireachd Society Book," which contains on average twelve tunes; the current collection totals fifteen books. To an advanced player the accompanying comments in the *Piobaireachd Society Collection* are an invaluable resource, but to the average player, the much higher number of tunes in the "Kilberry Book" are probably more appealing.

Murray continues to reveal the flaws of revering too strongly the written music of Kilberry. Speaking specifically about the popular piobaireachd, "Black Donald's March," which is written in 4/4 metre by Kilberry:

...[I]t falls naturally into phrases and equally naturally into 6/8 time, a signature with which Kilberry seems unable to cope. Sing the Ground a few times right through and now try it on the practice chanter. This is heresy indeed, but I promise you nothing will happen! The ghosts of the great men of the past will not rise up and smite you, because believe you me, this is the way they all played a hundred years and more ago before we were all brainwashed into discarding it. And thoroughly and completely brainwashed we have been! Make no mistake! The pipers of past generations whose names we revere knew all about these traditions in Piobaireachd. That they chose not to pass them on to us is one of the tragic and disastrous consequences of the approbation of our music by the competition system, and the lure of the glittering prizes (Fall 2003, p.17).

The study of piobaireachd, as revealed in this quote of David Murray, is more than mere notes. It apparently includes disagreement, contention, and subterfuge. Happily, the repertoire contains enough material to last a lifetime.

Mastery

Solo GHB music at the highest level is known for its expressive musicality. The piper achieves musicality through subtle variance from absolute and relative note values. In practice, a master player might play any given note of the same written value as a differently timed note. Although many pipers think such musical expression should be felt rather than analyzed, true master players certainly analyze their approach to each piece. The fourth chapter of piper and teacher Dr. Simon McKerrell's dissertation could be used as an example of this, but one specific comment is particularly illustrative. In describing master piper Angus MacColl's approach to competition march playing, McKerrell writes:

Angus MacColl clearly demonstrated how his father taught him to phrase 2/4 marches. He shows that by slightly emphasizing the long note at the end of the phrase, and drawing it out, one can make music within the tune. He identified negatively, overemphasis of the beat notes, and showed an awareness of the contour of the melody as contributing to the shape of the phrases. As is evident from this discussion, phrasing is a particularly personal and highly developed skill among players of Angus's caliber. To the sophisticated listener, different schools of phrasing style are still clearly evident today (2005, p.180).

Such painstaking analysis, which leads to seemingly free flowing expression, results from years of following the explicit direction of the master player's own teacher. Indeed, in the early years of learning, the novice piper is expected in most cases to not have independent thoughts about music. Not until the piper achieves musical maturity is there any latitude or expectation of independent thought (Abeles, Hoffer, & Klotman, 1995, p.59).

Teachers in the United States often approach music analysis differently than do Scottish teachers. McIntosh discusses this phenomenon with Ian MacLellan:

JM: Being a Scot and being tutored in the traditional way, and now living in the United States, I see many things different here. One of these is many teachers are instructing students to play marches stressing upbeats and all sorts of different things. I wonder why we never had any of that kind of teaching in Scotland from our teachers.

IM: I never ever heard of this phrase “upbeat march playing.” I always knew of it as being a strong-weak accent throughout the whole eight bars of every part. We were always taught to let the tune flow musically. If that is what they mean by upbeat, O.K., but tunes should flow along easily, not just be played bar by bar. The whole tune should be joined together and this should flow along with nice musical phrases throughout the tune (McIntosh, Summer 1995, p.28).

MacLellan, apparently warning against overthinking music analysis, goes on to suggest that aspiring pipers should listen to master players perform, to gain insight concerning musical presentation (McIntosh, Summer 1995, p.28). MacLellan’s advice must be tempered with a caution to less experienced players, admonishing them to avoid trying to emulate the master player’s speed and tune selection.

Conclusion

This chapter was divided into two parts, the first of which sought to understand the intangible properties of teacher attitudes, self-perceptions, and student perceptions of those attitudes.

One of the significant and original conclusions I have drawn from the section on teacher attitudes concerns teacher satisfaction. My findings suggest that teacher fulfillment and satisfaction go beyond the competitive success of one’s students. The challenges of becoming a better teacher often combine with establishing a cordial student-teacher relationship, providing teacher satisfaction. My experiences as a teacher parallel these sentiments. As a teacher, I am constantly analyzing my teaching methods in an effort to improve my effectiveness, and establishing a

friendly relationship with my students is as important to my personal teaching satisfaction as it is to the student's overall learning process.

Concerning teacher transparency, I was surprised to discover the negative experiences of several sources, who spoke of exclusion and secrecy in their encounters with Scottish teachers. As an American, my experience has been overwhelmingly favourable regarding sharing of information on the part of all Scottish pipers, whether teachers or not. In competition, I have found my fellow competitors to be fraternal and welcoming in their approach. On the occasions where I have won prizes in Scotland, my fellow competitors always seem to be genuinely happy for my success. As an American piper travelling to compete in Scotland, I have never felt subjected to an atmosphere of exclusion, either from camaraderie or from knowledge. The prevailing view among most bagpipers is that although they are competitors, the ultimate goal is to create great music.

I was not surprised to find varying stances to adherence to style among different teachers in general, but I was surprised specifically by recollections of two different students of John MacDonald, who apparently taught one of his students using strict style mandates, while guiding another student using a more catholic approach. In my own studies, I was taught extensively by James McIntosh, MBE, and by Angus MacLellan, both of whom trace their lineage to MacDonald. Both teachers offered alternate settings to tunes, and neither displayed intolerance of interpretations which differed from their own. I was always encouraged to weigh each performance on its own musical merits.

An important student perception concerned the ability of the teacher to provide vision and inspiration, but this conclusion was a confirmation rather than a finding. Like Donald Lindsay, one of my respondents, I was greatly influenced by

the stories told to me as a child by Seumas MacNeill, so much so that when I first travelled to Scotland to compete in 1982, I travelled exclusively by train to the events. I did this because MacNeill told stories of the pipers going “round the games” by train. I thought that was the way it was done, even though by the 1980s train travel in the Highlands was greatly diminished, and almost all pipers travelled to the games by car. In fact, it wasn’t until my fourth trip to Scotland, in 1996, that I finally succumbed to the modern way of things and hired a rental car during my trip.

In the second part of this chapter I have studied actual teaching practices. Beginning with general methods, I examined selected components of GHB instruction. One of the significant and original conclusions I made was that although there is more than one acceptable method of teaching, there are not unlimited methods, and most teachers have a limited spectrum of practices in every topic examined. The general methods within which teaching takes place are rote learning, written music and tutor books, and oral/aural methods. Most teachers appear to employ varying amounts of all three general methods, with individual preferences varying between methods from one teacher to the next.

The first, and least-used method, rote learning, is still employed to a limited extent in bagpiping, and continues to be widely used in drumming instruction. Teachers perceive the advantage of rote learning to facilitate quicker memorization among students, but rote learning has the disadvantage of neglecting other musical factors such as sight reading.

Most teachers use tutor books, the second general teaching method, in their teaching curriculum, and these fall into two basic categories, which I refer to as the older “Exercises First” method and the newer “College of Piping” method. Although both types of books are used, the “College of Piping” type books are by far the most

prominent way of teaching. Both methods appear to be equally effective, and it seems purely the choice of the instructor as to which is used. These two strategies are particularly pertinent to early instruction.

Almost all teachers to some extent employ the third general method, oral/aural transmission, a particularly popular method of piobaireachd instruction. Teachers rarely use the purely traditional manifestation of this method, canntaireachd, at least not entirely, although many teachers retain aspects of it in their teaching. However, the value of oral/aural teaching lies in the teacher's ability to portray the expressive nature of the music rather than in the specific vocabulary used.

Regarding specific subject matter, I have drawn conclusions in five learning objectives: music memorization; theory instruction; ear training and sight reading; transition to the GHB; and piobaireachd.

I have concluded that music memorization needs much more general research and study on the part of GHB teachers. Music memorization is essential to the idiom, but very little reference to memory work exists in GHB literature. Most students are able to memorize music, but for students who have memory problems, learning becomes much more difficult. Although most teachers provide their students several memorization techniques, they seem to be at a loss in dealing with students who have severe memorization difficulty. In my own experience of forty years as a teacher, I have had three students who could not memorize music. In each case, the student had some type of hearing loss which rendered him incapable of accurately hearing the melody. Ironically, one went on to become an outstanding drummer, easily memorizing rhythm and sticking. Memory issues are the area where teachers appear most likely to give up on their students.

I also concluded that theory instruction is severely underdeveloped as a subject, largely because many GHB teachers were not confident of their own theoretical knowledge. Such theory instruction as has been presented often contains erroneous content. Recent publications such as the “Structured Learning Series” by the RSPBA have provided a much needed resource, expanding the tools available to teachers. Lack of theory instruction also manifests itself as an obstacle to composition.

I found that ear training and sight reading receive varying treatment from teachers, depending largely on how the teachers themselves were taught. Sight reading especially receives a broad range of attention, with some teachers emphasizing it, while others do not consider it important at all, perhaps because, unlike most other musicians, bagpipers never read in performance. All teachers consider ear training as it pertains to tuning tremendously important, but differ on when and how to teach this skill. Some begin with the first lesson, encouraging their students to listen to CDs to develop an early appreciation for good tuning. Others wait until the student is capable of blowing a steady pressure on the GHB. I did not draw a conclusion on relative effectiveness between these strategies.

In transitioning students onto the GHB, all teachers use the same general stepwise approach in varying degree. Some start with the pipe chanter only, gradually introducing the drones, while others start with one drone only, gradually adding to the challenge one drone at a time until finally the chanter is added last. This seems to be simply a matter of personal preference of the individual teacher, although employing a stepwise approach, beginning with one drone only would be the easiest initial step.

Finally, I have drawn the conclusion that most teachers teach piobaireachd to a large extent in the way it was originally and traditionally taught, using some variation of an oral/aural method. Orality in piobaireachd seems to be employed by almost all teachers, supplemented by written music, which students use as an aid to memorization. The study of piobaireachd leads eventually to mastery of the GHB and the art form, but if mastery is gained by the student, it is only after years of study under another master, supported by immersion in the music of the culture. One cannot become a master player through the written notes alone.

CHAPTER VII: TEACHING ENVIRONMENTS

This chapter examines the contexts and environments in which transmission of GHB music, tradition, and culture occurs within the United States. Scottish-

Americans are often exposed to the bagpiping community through presentations at Robert Burns celebrations and Highland games, and to a lesser degree, at concerts and other GHB-specific events. Often these audience members are not first-time listeners, but already members of the greater Scottish community. Insiders of the GHB community receive transmission from: private studio lessons; band membership and participation; competitions; listening to recordings of GHB music; and through live electronic media, such as the live streaming of the World Pipe Band Championships and other bagpiping events. To gain a fuller understanding of these various environments requires a definition of the different types of learning that occurs in these environments.

Formal, Non-Formal, and Informal Learning Definitions

Purposeful learning of various types have been defined and studied by several authorities (Knowles, 1970; Green, 2008; Schippers, 2010). The Commission of the European Communities (CEC) lists three basic categories of purposeful learning activity: formal learning, non-formal learning, and informal learning. These terms do not imply a relative quality or legitimacy to the type of instruction given, merely serving to define the learning environment. The CEC defines formal learning as, "...taking place in education and training institutions, leading to recognized diplomas and qualifications" (Commission Staff, 2000, p.8). The strict definition given here precludes most GHB music instruction, simply because most GHB instruction takes place outside education and training institutions, and does not customarily lead to a diploma.

Next, the CEC describes non-formal learning as learning that takes place as a supplement or complement to mainstream educational and training systems, often provided in the workplace or through other organizations such as youth

organizations, trade unions, or musical groups, or sometimes in the context of a formal classroom setting, but which does not lead to a degree or formal certification, which may also be “...provided through organisations or services that have been set up to complement formal systems (such as arts, music, and sports classes or private tutoring to prepare for examinations)” (Commission Staff, 2000, p.8). By this definition, studio classes constitute a type of non-formal learning, even though they are traditionally the standard environment for transmission within the GHB culture. Most pipe band environments can also be included in this definition.

Finally, the CEC defines informal learning as, “...a natural accompaniment to everyday life. Unlike formal and non-formal learning, informal learning is not necessarily intentional learning, and so may well not be recognised even by individuals themselves as contributing to their knowledge and skills.” (Commission Staff, 2000, p.8) Informal learning might include participating in “jam sessions,” listening to recordings, or attending live performances of bagpiping. Not all authorities agree on a strict definition of any of these terms (Etling, 1993; Cofer, 2000), but they are adequate for the purpose of this thesis.

FORMAL TEACHING ENVIRONMENTS

Formal teaching has been defined as teaching that occurs in a formal teaching environment, where specific, purposeful, planned instruction is administered, leading to the completion of a degree or certificate. Because of the degree or certificate requirement in this strict definition, GHB instruction appears in only two specific formal environments, the public or private school, and the university. A wide variety of opinion exists about the value of this type of instruction within the context of traditional or folk music. Waldron (2006, p.ii) found that in the opinion of her respondents, formal music environments were generally considered inappropriate and

insufficient for traditional Celtic music instruction. However, the Scottish school system has included curricular programming for the GHB for some time, with apparent success.

School Instruction

Unlike the Scottish school system, which has included the GHB in the music curriculum for several years, schools in the United States rarely feature the GHB, either as a curricular or extracurricular component of the music program. When a bagpiping program is introduced into a school environment, the reception from the faculty and parents often varies. Teacher and judge Donald Lindsay, formerly a member of the United States Air Force Pipe Band stationed in Washington, D.C., recalled that he received tremendous support from teachers and parents when he taught a bagpiping course at Peary High School in the 1960s (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Spring 1999, p.28). However, school officials are not universally cooperative regarding extracurricular activities. As an example, a Pennsylvania high school bagpiping program taught for fifteen years in the Pittsburgh School District was greatly appreciated by most of the teachers, who were completely supportive of the program (Regan, personal recollection, January 24, 2014). A few, especially the physical education teachers, were combative, refusing to allow their students to attend GHB lessons, although admittedly, these teachers also held an adversarial stance against every music program, including the marching band and the choir (Regan, personal recollection, January 24, 2014). This adversarial relationship is not limited to America. Scottish Bagpiper Logan Tannock, an itinerant bagpiping instructor for several schools in the Scottish school system, described his experiences, remarking that while he was heartily welcomed by teachers in most of the schools he visited every week, there were a few instances

where the entire school faculty seemed to oppose his presence (Regan, personal recollection, January 24, 2014). Although Tannock's anecdotal story reveals ambivalence to bagpiping in some Scottish schools, some American pipers suggest that the presence of bagpiping as a subject in the Scottish schools is a primary reason Scottish piping remains so strong in comparison to other countries, despite Scotland's relatively limited population.

Higher Education

Because of the strict definition applied in this thesis, the only other location for formal GHB education is higher education. This recently developed venue is beginning to be exploited in the United States as well as in Scotland and Canada. Teaching may occur on a curricular or extracurricular level in higher education, but to qualify as formal learning the course work would necessarily be part of a curricular program. Extracurricular programs would better fit the definition of non-formal learning, but are included here because of their environmental proximity to formal higher education experiences.

Extracurricular Programs

Although not part of the formal learning environment, extracurricular bagpiping has been present on numerous university campuses in the United States for many years. Often supported as student clubs, pipe bands are a part of many university communities. Support for these organizations varies, from official antipathy to wholehearted financial encouragement. One benefit to the university and to the student is that clubs such as these offer intangible emotional support during the university experience, while providing an opportunity for the student to learn or maintain what will often become a lifelong hobby or avocation. Every

curricular bagpiping program in United States universities developed from an already existing extracurricular program.

Curricular Programs

One of the earliest examples of a curricular program in higher education was a course in GHB music appreciation, offered by piper Jim Davidson at Hampshire College in the mid-1970s (Davidson, Fall 1996, p.11). Well attended by students and local residents, the course was designed to educate non-pipers about the GHB and its music in an effort to develop an informed audience (Davidson, Fall 1996, p.11).

Although the Hampshire College program ended, other universities have, from time to time, offered courses in bagpiping for college credit. North Idaho College was at one time the only two-year school in the country that offered a fully accredited course in advanced piping (Donaldson, 1986, p.113). According to Tammie Iverson, of the Northern Idaho College Registrar's Office, this course appeared on the course schedule from 1971 until 1991 (personal correspondence, March 13, 2014). Until 1991, however, such courses, if they existed at all, were rare novelties in higher education.

The first formal, four-year degree program offered for the GHB was instituted in 1991 by Carnegie Mellon University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. This degree is a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Music Performance (GHB). The first degree recipient, Patrick Regan, the author of this present research, graduated in 1996. As of May 2014 there have been three other graduates: Lyric Todkill, 2003; Nicholas Hudson, 2009; and Andrew Bova, 2011. Carnegie Mellon University recently expanded the program to offer a Master of Music degree for the GHB, with the first recipient, Andrew Bova, graduating in May 2013.

Following Carnegie Mellon University, several colleges and universities have included bagpiping as part of their curricular programming. These universities include: the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, formerly known as the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama (RSAMD); Lyon College in Batesville, Arkansas; College of Wooster, Ohio; University of California, Riverside; and Edinboro University of Pennsylvania. The University of Prince Edward Island was the first Canadian university to institute a Bachelor of Arts degree program with a major in Highland Bagpiping (Glenginning and Rogers, Fall 2001, p.15). Edinboro University of Pennsylvania is thought to be the first university to recognize the GHB as a major instrument in the pursuit of a Bachelor of Arts in Music Education, with the first graduate, Sean Patrick Regan, receiving the degree in May 2013.

As degree programs gain credibility, modifications to those programs inevitably follow. The initial offering of the RSAMD, a Bachelor of Arts in “Scottish Music,” was revised and adapted in 2009 to become the Bachelor of Arts in “Scottish Music-Piping,” which allows students to choose to focus more intently on bagpiping, as compared to a more generalized approach to Scottish music in the original program (MacLellan, Winter 2009, p.62).

Another program, based at Lyon College in Batesville, Arkansas, offers a Bachelor of Arts in Music for the GHB. Jimmy Bell, founder and director of the degree program, describes the program’s intent: “The focus of the program is not only to gain knowledge but self-sufficiency in anything piping-related, such as maintenance of instruments, running a band, competition readiness, concert and recital planning, performance, and history of the art form” (Spring 2012, p.20). Here the goal appears to be a well-rounded approach to performance, with an eye toward developing leadership in the bagpiping community.

The long-term impact of these formal GHB degree programs remains to be seen, but the immediate effect is that some of the graduates of the various programs are making a living as professional bagpipers. This fact is remarkable, because if successful in producing graduates who make a living from their bagpiping activities, these programs would be the first organized conduit for training professional bagpipers outside the British army since the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.

NON-FORMAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Although non-formal learning might take place in a highly structured setting, because of the strict requirement of certification to qualify as formal learning, most GHB education must be classified as non-formal. The principal non-formal teaching environments, venues where purposeful learning takes place, in reverse order of teaching effectiveness are: weekend workshops; summer camps; studio lessons; and pipe bands.

Weekend Workshops

Weekend workshops are very popular in the United States, because they get pipers and drummers together in a context other than competition, and they are perceived to provide short-term opportunities to focus on learning activities, although the long-term educational value of these events has not been determined. A typical weekend workshop might be held at a hotel or school, usually has participants arriving Friday evening, and offers various classes through the day Saturday and Sunday. Often, there will be a Saturday night ceilidh (party), with workshop attendees participating in informal performances throughout the evening. The content of these workshops varies. June Hanley, at one point the chairman of the EUSPBA Education Committee, suggested workshops might be planned by the association branches to include activities such as: Master Classes; Band Performance

Workshops; a General Workshop; a Certification Exam Workshop; a Rhythm Workshop; or a “Piobaireachd enclave” (Spring 2007, p.23). All of these types of events have been presented at various times, either as EUSPBA events, or private endeavours coordinated by individuals or pipe bands.

Master Classes have been held by many instructors, with pipe bands far too numerous to list hiring instructors for weekend workshops. These Master Classes vary in style, form, and content, but they are customarily modeled after typical master classes held in other musical disciplines, in which two or three players present prepared pieces, followed by a public lesson from the master teacher (Yates, Summer 1996, p.10). Tunes are frequently submitted in advance of the class to enable facilitators to make copies for the students auditing the event, thereby better involving them in the lesson (Yates, Summer 1996, p.10).

Pipe band workshops modify the Master Class concept, typically organizing the event around a few pipe bands, which will play their music for the instructor, then receive immediate feedback. The band often has the chance to play again to see what difference they could make based on the teacher’s comments. These events allow participants to benefit from their own performances, as well as the performances of other participating bands (Hanley, Spring 2005, p.20).

Other weekend events advocated by Hanley (Spring 2005, p.20), such as general workshops, specialized workshops, or certification events, serve to bring pipers together in a noncompetitive atmosphere, and provide a much needed boost between competition seasons. Weekend workshops, although popular, are limited in effectiveness because of the short duration of these events. An expansion of the weekend workshop, both in time and effectiveness, is the summer camp.

Summer Camps

One of the most popular venues for the transmission of bagpiping in the United States is the summer piping school, also known as a summer camp. Typically, a summer piping school will be one or two weeks in duration, often located at a university or retreat center, with residence and meal accommodations available to students. The schedule varies from school to school, but normally consists of small group classes of forty minutes to an hour duration, held throughout the day. Classes are usually segregated by ability rather than age, with students attending one class with one teacher in the morning, and another class with a different teacher in the afternoon, practicing between classes. Evening sessions, although not always offered at every summer camp, sometimes include history lectures and recitals by one or more of the faculty. Summer camps, which are held throughout the world, were introduced to the United States in the 1970s, with at least nine summer piping camps established in the United States in that decade (Donaldson, 1986, p.112). Since then, the number of summer camps has slowly continued to grow, so that the Spring 2012 issue of the *Voice* magazine lists thirteen for the summer of 2012 (Various Authors, Spring 2012, pp.18-31). Although the United States and Canada host the vast majority of summer camps, these events have become a worldwide phenomenon: a Scandinavian school is held in July of each year;¹¹⁰ the Italian Spring Piping School is held in Italy in April;¹¹¹ and a summer piping school has been held in Burg Breuburg, Germany, since 1982.¹¹²

Experiences at summer camps vary, but are overwhelmingly positive. The enthusiasm and learning experienced in a weekend workshop are magnified at a

¹¹⁰ Retrieved August 15, 2012: <http://www.sspd.dk>

¹¹¹ Retrieved August 15, 2012: <http://www.italianspringschool.it>

¹¹² Retrieved August 15, 2012:
http://www.bagev.de/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=6&Itemid=74

summer camp. Referring to his studies at the Balmoral School, competitor, teacher, and judge Dr. Chip Reardon states:

One of the things that intrigues me about this art is that every time I attend a [summer camp], everyone there is as zealous and enthusiastic about this as I am. And that just thrills me to death. When I'm at these schools I even sweat piping. I have the time of my life with this. I sit there and listen to the instructors and I'm almost hanging on every word. If you don't, then you really don't belong in a thing like this (Donaldson, 1986, p.60).

As an indication of the popularity of summer schools in general, from 1979 to 2011, more than four thousand students received piping and drumming instruction at the Balmoral summer camps (Balderose, Spring 2012, p.18).

Unlike weekend workshops, which are often frenzied, information-crammed events, summer camps allow the student to become immersed in the learning experience. The challenges of daily life often leave little time for enthusiasts to concentrate on developing their hobby, but spending an entire week at summer camp provides dedicated time away from daily distractions to concentrate solely on learning (Sheehan, Spring 2012, p.25). In addition to daily classes, summer camps often provide informal learning opportunities. Sisters Mary Robinson and Martha Robinson White, both pipers, recall the educational value of informal evening festivities at Invermark: "What we learned during the day provided material for lively conversations in the evening. Memories that stay with us include Donald Lindsay telling the stories behind the piobaireachds and listening to Jack Lee play the tunes on an outside deck overlooking a small lake" (Robinson and Robinson White, Spring 2012, p.26).

Another well-established venue, the Ohio Scottish Arts School, began in 1978 following the first Ohio Scottish Games in 1977 (Conway, Spring 2012, p.30). Discussing adult learners, teacher and judge Barry Conway describes the light-

hearted nature of the school: “The non-beginner adult students are put into the adult group run by Steve MacNeil. This group pokes fun at itself by naming this group ‘The advanced Adult remedial Group’ or ‘AARGH!’ class. (As in the pirate ‘Argh’)

This fun group has many members who have been coming to the school for years and share a love and passion of the GHBs” (Conway, Spring 2012, p.31). The OSAS has experienced solid growth through the years, growing from 58 students across the disciplines of dancing, drumming, and piping, to 145 students from 22 states and Canada attending classes in dancing, fiddling, harping, piping, and drumming (Conway, Spring 2012, p.30). As with the Invermark school, informal evening gatherings at OSAS are enthusiastically enjoyed by students and teachers alike, with the OSAS ceilidhs including session-like events comprising fiddlers, harpers, and singers, in addition to the pipers and dancers (Conway, Spring 2012, p.30). Throughout these events, participants, both students and teachers, express enjoyment and a sense of self-development.

Not everyone has a positive experience in the summer school environment. Piper Ian Nelson posted this comment on the Bob Dunsire forum on August 27, 2003:

I have attended the Balmoral School of Piping both times in Tacoma, WA, and cannot recommend it for anyone over a beginner. My first time was after I had only been playing about 9 months. The two instructors were Iain MacLean and Jimmy MacIntosh. I was in the beginner/intermediate class. Here were two masters of their craft who were a wealth of information. I only saw them each 45 minutes a day in class with three other people. At the time it was about all I could handle and while I don’t think my playing improved greatly my attendance certainly did point me in the right direction. I was 16 at the time.¹¹³

¹¹³ Retrieved September 23, 2013: <http://forums.bobdunsire.com/forums/archive/index.php/t-74401.html>

Clearly, Nelson came away from his first summer camp experience with ambivalent feelings about the program. While he realized he received some positive guidance, he was obviously dissatisfied with the overall structure and scheduling of the program. Nelson continues his narrative:

I next attended four years later. I was playing in Grade 2. The two instructors were Alasdair Gillies and Donald MacPhee. I was placed in the advanced class. I received 45 minutes with Gillies in a class with three other students. With MacPhee I was in a class by myself because I was not sufficient in Piobaireachd, that lesson lasted 15 minutes. In addition we (the students) signed up for 2 fifteen minute solo lessons with both Gillies and MacPhee, by the time we got our instruments tuned the lesson was over. On the third day of the school I can remember thinking, 'I'm paying to practice in a room by myself.' Lessons were very good with Alasdair but many in the class were more interested in talking to a legend than learning from him. In the evening the instructors vanished. The nightly recitals were put on by the more advanced students with the exception of the concert at the end of the week.¹¹⁴

The perception shared by Nelson, that students are “paying to practice in a room by myself,” persists as a common complaint about the summer camp experience. Most students wish they could have more time with the instructors. However, class size and contact time with instructors must be weighed against an effort to make the school affordable to all. Hiring instructors is expensive, with travel, accommodations, and food adding to the expense. The more contact time students have with individual instructors, the smaller the ratio of instructors to students needs to be, and the smaller the ratio of teachers to students, the greater the cost to attend. Furthermore, while equal contact time is seen by many as important, since beginners pay the same tuition rates as advanced players, not all students hold the same perception of instructor contact. Piper Colleen McCloskey recalls favourably that all

¹¹⁴ Retrieved September 23, 2013: <http://forums.bobdunsire.com/forums/archive/index.php/t-74401.html>

students at the Invermark College, from beginner to advanced, received equal attention from the instructors (McCloskey, Spring 2012, p.26).

The expense of travel and the sacrifice of family vacation time is often a consideration for students contemplating summer camp attendance, and Andrew Douglas appears to have solved this problem via internet attendance. Having already established an extensive catalogue of year-round online learning opportunities, Douglas launched the first online summer school experience in 2012, allowing students to experience a week of lessons remotely via Skype classes (Douglas, Spring 2012, p.32). This solution, while admittedly saving both time and money, might negate the positive benefit experienced by many attendees of allowing the student to escape from the daily routine of life in order to focus on music, which is clearly perceived to be a benefit to students attending week-long events.

A closer examination of the teaching and learning that occurs at summer camps could inform and improve music education practice in the studio, increasing student and teacher success and satisfaction (Mark, 1996, p.121). While summer camps offer an extended immersion into a non-formal learning environment, these opportunities are necessarily limited to periodic availability. For ongoing instruction throughout the year, students must turn to the most traditional music learning environment, the private music studio.

Studio Lessons

Traditionally, the GHB, like most other western instruments, has been transmitted from teacher to student in various manifestations of a studio environment.¹¹⁵ Broadly defined, the music studio can be any environment where

¹¹⁵ Rice (1994) presents an extensive examination of Bulgarian GHB (gaida) instruction, which deviates completely from the studio model. All children are encouraged to learn to play an instrument, but there is practically no instruction or even supervision from accomplished players at

music education is transmitted from teacher to pupil, typically on a one-to-one basis (Herndon & McLeod, 1981, pp.51-52). The actual location, although usually in a home or office, is inconsequential. What matters is the relationship between teacher and student, and the fact that transmission is delivered from teacher to student on a one-to-one basis. In some circumstances, a teacher might have two or three students in the studio at the same time, but this does not transgress the overall definition of the studio environment. The master-pupil model is certainly not limited to any folk idiom or tradition, and is considered by many to be of utmost importance to learning music. This relationship is nurtured within the studio. The quality and effectiveness of the studio environment depends on the teacher's ability to connect with and communicate with the student. Teaching styles and methods, as well as personalities, differ from one teacher to the next, and there appears to be no single "best" method or personality for studio teaching. The one-on-one aspect of the studio is considered by many to be of great value to the learning process. Canadian teacher and judge Gail Brown teaches exclusively through private studio lessons, starting students as young as age six in half-hour lessons, which she gradually increases to one hour over the course of several months (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.21).

One of the potential pitfalls of studio lessons is student isolation. Unlike learning that occurs in a group setting, such as in pipe bands, the studio is customarily a one-on-one environment. Experiments made by the College of Piping in more efficient use of space and time resulted in the realization that separating students from one another resulted in more efficient use of time at the cost of enjoyment and socialization among students. MacNeill and Pearston devised soundproof cubicles, which they named "sentry boxes," which had a music stand and

first. Instead, the beginners are told to go out of the village to play, where the adults will not have to tolerate their inability to play. The older children give pointers to the younger ones, until such time as they are deemed proficient enough to be coached by an accomplished adult (pp.44-45)

a single chair (MacNeill, personal interview, March 3, 2011). Dougald MacNeill states that students were assigned to these “sentry boxes” and the instructor rotated from one sentry box to the next: “Tommy Pearston called it the ‘Sputnik System.’ The instructor went round. But socially it was a failure, because the students couldn’t... ..mix up and talk” (MacNeill, personal interview, March 3, 2011).

Distance learning has been revolutionized by the internet, which has expanded the definition of the private studio location. Prior to the invention of the internet, to receive regular weekly instruction, a student would be limited geographically to teachers within travel distance. This was a particular challenge in the United States, because in some cases, distance would have precluded lessons altogether. Nowadays, students are turning in ever-increasing numbers to an online delivery system for their instruction.

The value of studio lessons can be tremendous, but many students do not avail themselves of such opportunities (McMullin, personal interview, July 31, 2011). For this reason, studio lessons, despite being the single most effective method of instruction from an individual perspective, currently seem to have less overall impact on bagpiping than does the most widely utilized non-formal environment, the pipe band.

Pipe Bands

The most important non-formal learning environment, at least in terms of mass impact, is the pipe band, the primary venue for learning the GHB in the United States.

GHBs have been played in ensemble settings for centuries, including being played with drums as early as the 1600s (Flood, 1911, p.115). However, while pipes and drums have been played together since the 1600s, the concept of an actual pipe band

was not developed until the 1850s (Chatto, Spring 2007, p.44). Pipers began to be paid as such by the government in 1854, when Highland regiments were authorized one pipe major and five private pipers on their official role books, thereby creating the first army pipe bands (Carman, 1985, p.156; Green, Spring 2002, p.53; Malcolm, 1993, pp.6-9; Murray, 1999c, pp.120-121). Prior to this, pipers had been paid for out of the pockets of the individual officers, and were not usually listed as pipers on the roll books (Murray, 1999c, p.120).

In the United States, as in Canada and Scotland, pipe bands consist of a section of several pipers, and a percussion section, consisting of snare, tenor, and bass drums. The minimum requirements for competition at the lower levels in most pipe band associations are five pipers, two snares, one bass, and one tenor drum, with higher minimum numbers for higher-grade bands. In the United States, pipe bands are the most likely initial point of contact with the GHB community for interested individuals, whether from outside or inside the Scottish-American community. Persons within the Scottish-American community would most likely be aware of these groups, as well as the availability of private teachers, but the benefit of learning in community with other beginners provides a strong incentive for students to choose pipe bands, at least for their first lessons. Pipe bands are a vital aspect of the GHB culture in the United States, as Donald Lindsay attests: "Pipe bands are more or less the home of the culture for us... If it weren't for pipe bands in the Eastern U.S., I seriously wonder where our piping would be. It has provided resources to enable them to study further and to get to competitions that are long distances away" (Glendinning, Glendinning, and Rogers, Summer 1999, p.31).

Unlike many other musical ensembles, civilian pipe bands are purely voluntary associations (Kerr, 1994, pp.117-118). Blair Brown, a professional

Scottish drumming instructor from Canada, states: “Members of bands are not paid to be members of bands. ...nobody in pipe bands gets paid to be in a pipe band. And if they do, I’d like to see what they’re doing differently than us” (Carillo, 2012, unpaginated).

Pipe bands have a vested interest in offering training programs. As one example, many of the members of the Manchester, New Hampshire, Pipe Band are taught in the band’s internal education program (Donaldson, 1986, p.133). The Manchester Pipe Band, founded in 1914, currently competing at the Grade III level, is one of the oldest, most successful bands in New England.¹¹⁶

One of the obstacles to learning presented by pipe bands is the desire on the part of band leaders to put a large group together for performance. Combined with the desire of the beginner to also be a part of the performance, this creates the ideal environment for imprecise playing. Competitor and teacher David Mason confirms this observation: “[M]uch of any poor band situation is of their own making. Unfortunately, I see more and more pipers being pushed into playing in the band before they are ready, be it to bolster band numbers or to prevent people leaving because they are bored” (Summer 2008, p.54). Here Mason describes a difficult challenge for beginning pipers to overcome. Learning to play the GHB, a long, complicated process, requires the combination of many skills in order to achieve competency. New students often want to skip the difficult, tedious aspects of correct tuition in favour of short cuts, to the detriment of their musical development.

Canadian teacher Gail Brown agrees with Mason’s assessment, but combats premature band participation by requiring her students to play proficiently before they join a band: “Sometimes learners are enticed into bands—‘Come on out, and

¹¹⁶ Retrieved October 24, 2012: <http://www.manchesterpb.org/about-us/>

we'll get you a set of GHBS and a kilt, and we'll teach you at band practices, and you'll be on pipes in six months.' And you know that they're not really playing very well. So I'm really, really precise about fingering. It has to be right or they don't go on" (Quigg and Glendinning, Spring 2002, p.21). Despite a strict adherence to precise and proficient playing, Brown claims a very high retention rate among her students.

Achieving membership in a top grade competing pipe band requires years of practice. To beginners, these bands seem unapproachable. For this reason, some of the top bands have developed a "farm system," a series of beginner and intermediate pipe bands designed to train students, preparing them for eventual membership in the top band. Jim Dillahey points to the value of a strong band program, including the value of an active "farm system" for teaching new members, and asserts that most of the dominant pipe band organizations have some sort of student development program (Summer 2005, p.22). "Farm systems" are examined in greater detail as a component of recruiting in Chapter IV.

Despite training programs which are built into the pipe band environment, the development of the student, as well as the pipe band, is fraught with complications and obstacles. As the pipe band develops, beginners as well as experienced members must accomplish a variety of learning tasks with limited resources, especially regarding time. Piper Paul Vaillancourt discusses the necessity of efficient use of practice time: "My experiences in the classical music world have had an enormous influence on how I now practice and learn new material. The keyword is efficiency. In pedagogical circles, 'efficiency' could be considered the time spent on-task: playing on pads, chanters or instruments; or time spent doing and physically participating" (Fall 2004, p.33). Many pipe bands in the United States schedule

regular practice only one evening each week, usually for two to three hours. With such a severe time constraint, progress is usually limited, but preparedness on the part of the band members certainly improves efficiency. Vaillancourt overstates his case for efficient use of time, however, with this flawed argument: “Professional orchestras are often required to prepare two to three hours of music in ten hours of rehearsal time or less. This is only possible if all members of the orchestra show up fully prepared for the first rehearsal” (Fall 2004, p.33). The implication appears to be that a pipe band should be able to approach the same volume of music in the same rehearsal time. The flaw in Vaillancourt’s reasoning is that unlike pipe bands, professional orchestras do not customarily memorize their music. Having access to the sheet music during the performance, combined with the emphasis professional orchestras place on sight reading, changes the entire parameter of performance requirements. Furthermore, almost all pipe bands are made up of amateurs of varying levels of competency, unlike professional orchestras, which are made up of professional musicians. Nevertheless, most professional musicians could not begin to memorize two to three hours of music in ten hours of rehearsal time, and are often amazed at the memory capacity of even intermediate level pipers.

Another challenge to pipe band development concerns ear training and tuning. The City of Washington Pipe Band requires all members to make certain their practice chanters are in tune with each other, resulting in improved musicality even around the practice table (Green, Summer 1995, p.16). The Charleston, South Carolina, Police Pipe Band goes one step further, requiring the band to use matching Gibson practice chanters and Abbott reeds (Dillahey, Summer 2005, p.24).¹¹⁷ In preparation to compete in Scotland in 2006, the Steel Thistle Youth Pipe Band

¹¹⁷ Jerry Gibson and Greg Abbott are well known United States domiciled GHB and reed makers.

purchased matching practice chanters, which appeared to enhance the band's ear training, unison, and overall musicality (Regan, personal recollection, January 24, 2013).

Efficiency, diligent and careful practice, experience, and a strong "farm system" can contribute to a successful program. Very few organizations ever achieve complete success in these endeavours. Perhaps this must be expected from groups existing solely as a hobby for their members. One particular organization, however, is noted worldwide as a model of success.

Simon Fraser University Pipe Band

The Simon Fraser University Pipe Band, of Vancouver, British Columbia, presents an exceptional model of successful teaching practice. Despite the band's name and affiliation, Simon Fraser University offers no curricular GHB instruction, so the program does not fit the definition of formal learning. However, as a non-formal learning environment, the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band has developed the "farm system" to an unmatched extreme. As early as 2001, the organization included over 180 members in nine graduated levels from beginner to Grade One (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). To maintain the high standard of tuition, all members of the SFU organization are required to teach within the SFU system, in private instruction, or with other bands (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.20).

The SFU program begins with a class entitled, "Intro to Scottish Music," a six month program for six and seven-year-old students, taught by an experienced primary school teacher, teaching: the basics of Scottish music; the mechanics of the various pipe band instruments; basic music theory; and singing (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). Significantly, this course also includes: instruction on Highland dress; cultural heritage stories about Scotland and the Scottish people, including stories

behind significant Scottish music; and plenty of fun time for such things as drawing and colouring (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). With a stated emphasis on fun, this curriculum, designed with young children in mind, appears to be as much a Scottish cultural indoctrination program as a music class.

The next class, “Beginner 1,” for students ages eight to fourteen, emphasizes learning simple GHB tunes and nursery rhymes such as “Amazing Grace,” “Jingle Bells,” and “Mary Had a Little Lamb,” gradually introducing the concept of grace notes and other embellishments, in addition to a gradual exposure to sight reading (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). In order to graduate from this level, all students must begin private lessons (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). This curriculum appears to take the “College of Piping” method to an extreme, using the simplest possible music to initiate new students. Using nursery rhymes and popular songs seems to make sense, especially with North American students, who might not know traditional Scottish melodies.

The “Beginner 2” class introduces the “goose” to prepare students for the transition to pipes, with an emphasis on memory and unison playing, requiring students to also demonstrate good execution, rhythm and unison playing before graduating to the full GHB (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21).

From “Beginner 2,” students graduate to “Beginner Pipes.” At this stage, although the instructors still focus on individual skills, more and more group playing takes place. Students move to the next level when they can play through a set of tunes, employing good basic band technique, such as clean attacks and cut offs (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). Following “Beginner Pipes,” students enter the Grade V band, the first level at which a real band is formed, the repertoire consisting of all

the previously learned tunes plus a “mini-medley” (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21).¹¹⁸ At this level, the instructors occasionally play along on full instruments, but most of the time is spent in teaching band members how to play as a band, with particular emphasis on marching (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.21). The stepwise program culminates initially in the Grade III Robert Malcolm Memorial Pipe Band, the highest grade junior band in the SFU organization, and the band that travels to compete every two years at the World Pipe Band Championship (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.23). Audition is by invitation only, and admission into the group is based on: “...[P]laying ability, willingness to learn, and overall attitude. Expectations are high for solid performances by the band and by players in individual competitions because it is expected that players develop strong solo playing skills in addition to their band skills” (MacNeil, Spring 2001, p.23). A large cadre of experienced teachers, enthusiastic students, well thought out graduated curriculum, and a mixture of ensemble and individual experiences results in a model of success. An in-depth study of the Simon Fraser University Pipe Band program could serve as a template for other bagpiping programs.

INFORMAL LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

In contrast to non-formal learning, defined as a purposeful learning environment that takes place outside a formal educational environment, and which does not lead to a degree or certification, an informal learning environment is any environment in which learning takes place as a byproduct of daily life, without a purposeful goal of learning. Informal learning can be so broadly defined, including concert and festival attendance, listening to recordings, and jam sessions, that

¹¹⁸ A medley of tunes consists of a grouping of any type of piece, played as a single set. In the particular case mentioned, the set is one four-part march, one two-part strathspey, and one two-part reel, the same as the requirements for Scottish Grade IV B band competition.

virtually no musical activity would be excluded (Coffman, 2002, p.204). Some informal learning environments, such as jam sessions, while common to other Celtic folk traditions, are almost unheard of in the bagpiping community. Perhaps the nature of the instrument is such that spontaneous group music simply won't work with the GHB. The closest equivalent to a jam session might be a piper's ceilidh, or party, where everyone takes turns at playing for the enjoyment of the group. These occasions rarely occur, simply because pipers do not often gather outside of competitive events, weekend workshops, summer camps, band practices, or the occasional performance.

Listening to Recordings and Attending Live Performances

The technological capacity to record music has been of tremendous benefit to musicians in all areas of music, from professional distribution to historical scholarship. Students benefit from recordings from the last century, gaining the insight of great masters, now deceased. As examples, excellent instructional piobaireachd CDs have been produced, most notably of Donald MacLeod, whose "Classic Collection of Piobaireachd Tutorials" series of twenty-one volumes encompasses almost the entire piobaireachd repertoire, and of Bob Brown and Bob Nicol, whose "Masters of Piobaireachd" series provides valuable insight into their teaching. The Piobaireachd Society encourages the use of these CDs as teaching tools, but offers the advice that students get their interpretation checked by a teacher.¹¹⁹ The Piobaireachd Society clearly recommends having a teacher when using recordings to study piobaireachd, but such resources are invaluable for students whether or not they have ready access to a teacher.

¹¹⁹ Retrieved September 30, 2013:

http://www.piobaireachd.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49&Itemid=66

Another practice of pipers everywhere is to listen to recordings of the current top-graded soloists and pipe bands. Regarding learning by watching and listening to top-graded pipe bands, piper Ward Connolly states: “Watching them... ..the top bands in the world, practicing is an excellent source of learning and something that can be very valuable for any lower-grade pipe major or player. Not everything they do will work in lower-grade bands but it is still interesting to see how the big guy does it” (Fall 2005, p.18). Music, being a learned language, is necessarily transmitted aurally to an extent, and it would be difficult to imagine learning to play the GHB, or any other instrument without knowing how the instrument was supposed to sound. Piper Kathleen Brown describes her experience at the evening sessions of the Invermark Summer School: “One of the many highlights has to be the Instructors recital at the end of the week. I often think as I’m listening ‘How many people in the world are privileged enough to hear this caliber of music played in a setting like this?’” (Spring 2012, p.25). Having the chance to listen to master players, whether live or via recording, is considered by many teachers to be a tremendous opportunity, and with guidance, can greatly enhance a student’s learning experience, resulting in enhanced ear training, improved tuning ability, and better tonal quality for the student (Tunncliffe, Summer 2000, p.17).

For all the potential benefits, however, dangers lurk in listening to recordings. One of the most obvious pitfalls, from a teacher’s perspective, is the student’s premature attempt to match the speed of the master player. Few pipers attain the ability level of the recording artist, and the damage done to beginning or amateur pipers and pipe bands being badly influenced by an incorrect use of recordings cannot be overstated. Many lower-grade competitors, both soloists and pipe bands, upon listening to the latest recording of a Gold Medalist or the latest World Pipe

Band Championship recording, attempt to emulate the recording both in terms of speed and repertoire, neither of which can be accomplished by a lower-grade competitor. The result is deleterious in two respects. First, the competitor, playing a tune that is beyond his capacity to present at a polished level, is often kept out of the prize list, not because of lack of ability, but because of an inability to play poorly chosen, grade-inappropriate music. Second, and far worse than the temporary consequence of going home without a prize, the competitor, in a vain effort to match the hands and speed of the master, develops bad habits and flaws in his playing, which might have been avoided if the advanced music and speed had been put aside until the competitor was actually able to play at that level. The common desire of wanting to play difficult tunes fast is simply a case of enthusiasm on the part of the student. An experienced teacher will harness that enthusiasm so that the student will reach his goal correctly. An additional danger of listening to recordings is that sometimes, the recording will contain features such as non-traditional fingering which might be acceptable for an advanced player, but would not be helpful for a beginner. Robert Mathieson, former pipe major of the Shotts and Dykehead Caledonia Pipe Band, and an innovative composer, states:

The main problem with non-traditional fingering of any kind is that pipers start to do it in every tune, and in the wrong places. Unfortunately, people hear something, especially in piping, and then they swamp the whole repertoire with this new idea. I can remember when we did "Celtic Roots" and young guys behind the buses at Cowal were playing the set and C naturals were heard everywhere and tutors were going crazy. I really regretted that (Kent and Glendinning, Fall 1997, p.25).

Even if the student listens diligently, and carefully plays only music within his ability range, hidden dangers associated with listening to recordings sometimes appear, especially regarding interpretation, as the Piobaireachd Society cautions to avoid using recordings as the sole learning source: "The method of playing tunes

varies from one piper to another, and indeed from one era to another. Also the piper may have had an ‘off’ day while doing the recording. If you do learn from a recording, it is best to check your interpretation of a tune afterwards with a piobaireachd teacher.”¹²⁰ This caution especially applies to older recordings, where the master player might have been less familiar with recording technology, and therefore less able to control the final product. Again, the Piobaireachd Society cautions to always consult a reputable teacher.

The learning transmitted in the various formal, non-formal, and informal learning environments is ultimately put into practice in the most important informal learning setting of all, competition.

Competition

The engine currently powering the bagpiping world is competition, described as a “...[C]ore element of the tradition” (MacInnes, 2003, p.468). Formal competition, although not pervasive or dominant throughout music, nevertheless exists, and has been examined by numerous researchers (Ako, 2009; Russell, 2007; Scales, 2007; Wain, 1949). Bohlman (2004) argues that music competition benefits the individual competitor and the genre by elevating the visibility of the musical tradition, in addition to providing the host community with an enhanced sense of pride and identity (pp.84-85). Cadden (2003) points to the standardization often engendered by competition, necessitated by competition rules, which achieves both positive and negative results (pp.119-120). Instituting competitive events was one of the most influential developments in the GHB culture, at least in terms of impact on the presentation and performance of the art, since the first modern competition, sponsored by the Highland Society of London, was held at Falkirk in 1781 in

¹²⁰ Retrieved September 26, 2013:

http://www.piobaireachd.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=49&Itemid=66

anticipation of the repeal of the Act of Proscription. At this event none of the competitors wore kilts, possibly because the Act of Proscription was not yet repealed, or perhaps because none of the pipers owned a kilt. Despite being labeled as a competition, the prize money was divided equally among the competitors, as is the practice with several prestigious modern recital competitions such as the Silver Chanter and the Macdonald Quaich (Murray, Summer 1999b, p.20).

Since 1781, the measure of a piper's worth and status within the macro-community has been on the competition platform, and without competitive success, a piper usually has very little status within the bagpiping community. While most American pipers do not achieve professional competitive status, and most play only as a hobby, many also compete at varying levels. Americans tend to be competitive as a national characteristic, which is borne out in everything from athletics to business, and motivation for competition varies from one person to another. However, researcher Emily Donaldson erroneously describes American piper's motivation for competition: "Their devotion to competition in general is heightened by the pride they feel at accomplishing these unique Scottish feats" (1986, p.55). In an effort to determine the veracity of Donaldson's assertion, the following question was posed to thirty-two American competitors ranging through all grade levels: "What motivates (or motivated, if you are not currently competing) you to compete?"

As with a similar question about motivation to learn to play the GHB, almost every respondent offered several motivations for competition, with ninety-nine total responses spread among only twelve different motivations. Only two respondents listed opportunity to travel to competition as a motivation, while four competitors

specifically listed travel as one component of competition they disliked.¹²¹ Three respondents stated that competition provided an opportunity to build character, while thrill of competition and winning awards received four responses each. Competitor DeAnn Carter states: “The thing that motivates me to compete is the bling.”¹²² I like accumulating medals. It's a rush to see my name (preferably by the number one!) on the board... Getting medals and trophies is just a validation of my improvement and hard work. It looks really cool to have a ton of medals, too!” (personal correspondence, November 1, 2013).

Five competitors listed competition as an opportunity to play in front of an audience, six stated that a former motivation was because when they were first starting as pipers, their friends competed, or their teacher encouraged or required them to compete. Seven stated that they used competition as a motivation to practice.

Four categories received eleven votes. These were: providing an opportunity to attain validation within the piping community; a chance to exercise a naturally competitive spirit; an opportunity for camaraderie with other pipers; and feedback from a judge.

Competition provides the primary method of validation, notoriety, and professionalism within the piping community, and this was noted by eleven respondents. Grade III piper Hernan Brizuela states, “There is an awareness that if I want to ‘make my mark’ or at the very least become an actively gigging musician (and maybe down the road teacher), this is an important way to gain legitimacy and credibility in the craft” (personal correspondence, November 3, 2013). Competitor Timothy Wiley expands on the comments made by Brizuela: “I like to compete for

¹²¹ Two respondents listed “picking up chicks” as a motivation for competing. Although one might conclude that this was a facetious response, one of these respondents met his wife, also a competing piper, as a result of going to competitions.

¹²² “Bling” refers to the medals and trophies awarded to prize-winning competitors.

the status I can attain as a musician. I cannot deny that I enjoy hearing my name called out as the winner of an event and hearing cheering for my success. Because of a little bit of status and notoriety, I have received many opportunities to perform and teach my music to others” (personal correspondence, November 2, 2013). Wiley’s observation about receiving opportunities to teach is validated by three other respondents who also listed improved credibility as teachers within the details of their responses.

A competitive spirit was listed as a motivation by eleven respondents. Professional competitor and judge David Bailiff compares GHB competition to an athletic event: “I’m a sports fan. It was just an avenue for me to compete. Success makes you more competitive, and also builds perseverance. When I was a kid, I just wanted to beat people. ...as you get older, you just want to play good music, but as a kid and into your early teenager, it is important” (personal correspondence, November 5, 2013). Like Bailiff, several respondents noted that their initial motivation to compete changed as they matured as pipers.

One of the most enthusiastic responses was the opportunity for camaraderie with their fellow competitors, listed eleven times, with seven responses being from higher-grade amateur and professional players. At this level of competition, a sense of community becomes apparent. Professional competitor Andrew Donlon states: “It is definitely the people, the community of pipers. It is so great to get together at least once a month with people who study what I study, struggle with the same musical things I struggle with...” (personal correspondence, November 6, 2013). Professional competitor and teacher Lyric Todkill echoes Donlon’s views, and enjoys “[T]he social aspects of it and the camaraderie among other competitors. They know what you've gone through to get to this point and you know what they've gone

through. It creates a mutual respect right off the bat. Plus, afterwards you get to drink beer with these people and talk shop” (personal correspondence, November 2, 2013).

Eleven respondents listed feedback from judges as a major motivator and benefit to competition, and in each case, this response was listed alongside the most popular answer, an opportunity to improve playing ability, which was listed by twenty-five of the thirty-two respondents. Grade II competitor Laureano Thomas-Sanchez states: “I find that by competing you are getting many different judges’ opinions on your playing, and their comments can help you improve” (personal correspondence, November 1, 2013). Grade II competitor Kenton Adler expands on Thomas-Sanchez’s insight, “I enjoy being able to mark my progress as I continually attempt to improve my playing. I appreciate the feedback I receive from the judges and integrate it as best I can to fix what’s wrong and continue to do what’s right with my piping” (personal correspondence, November 2, 2013).

The results of this survey indicate that of the many motivations listed by a wide variety of competitors, the most widely listed motivation was a desire to improve. However, throughout the responses, not a single respondent even mentioned a Scottish connection, which suggests that the fact that the GHB is Scottish has no conscious bearing on the competition motivation of American bagpipers, contradicting Donaldson’s findings that national pride was a major factor in GHB competition (Donaldson, 1986, p.55).

Although eleven respondents to the survey indicated competitive spirit as a motivation for competition, this competitive nature was never listed as the primary motive to compete. However, the results of one survey do not diminish the often extreme competitive nature of Americans, as evidenced by the reflective comments made by members of the St. Thomas Episcopal School Pipe Band following their

first-place victory in the 1996 World Pipe Band Championship. Piper and band member Milan Vaishnav writes:

St. Thomas was competing against six other bands in the Juvenile Division, and easily out-matched the other bands in terms of the difficulty of the music they were playing. However, St. Thomas was at a distinct disadvantage because they were American. The Scottish bands had been playing the circuit for many of the same judges all season. St. Thomas, the underdog by far, shocked the competition and swept the Juvenile Division, winning... ...the Juvenile World Championship. (Spring 1996, p.13).

The perception of St. Thomas Episcopal School Pipe Band as “the underdog by far,” is perhaps melodramatic overstatement. Granted, the judges might have been more familiar with the other bands, but St. Thomas had already won the World Juvenile Pipe Band Championship once before, and placed fourth one other time, so they were not an unknown presence in the pipe band world. Furthermore, Michael Cusack, their instructor at the time, was the first American to win both gold medals, and is certainly very well-known and respected throughout the piping world. However, the underdog perception is valid as a perception, if not as a fact, leading to the following comments on competition. Vaishnav continues, commenting on: “...[T]he burden that had been lifted off their backs by winning...” in reference to “...[T]he 1993 band from St. Thomas which received a heart-breaking fourth place at that year’s World’s” (Spring 1996, p.13). Admittedly, it is disappointing to spend so much time and money and not win, but the idea that fourth place in the World Pipe Band Championship would be “heart-breaking” suggests a focus on winning beyond what some would consider healthy. Nathan Shotell, another St. Thomas Pipe Band member, echoes this intensity: “Losing in 1993 was one of the most disappointing moments of my life. Knowing how hard you worked, how many hours you put in for such a disappointing loss; it was frustrating. Winning in 1995 made up for all of that pain” (Vaishnav, Spring 1996, p.13). Most other bands finishing fourth in the World

Pipe Band Championships consider such a result to be cause for intense celebration, not pain, disappointment and frustration. Perhaps this is simply the attitude with which many Americans approach competition.

While intensity and competition naturally coexist, not everyone sees competition as beneficial. In his article, “The Case Against Competition,” educational consultant Alfie Kohn cites research suggesting competition adversely affects performance, and the competitive mindset often results in heightened levels of conformity and adversarial relationships (1987, unpaginated). Michael Rogers (Winter 2003, p.62), himself a Gold Medalist, referring to Kohn’s research, suggests that competition may actually interfere with learning, achievement, and participant satisfaction. Paralleling Kohn and Rogers, Bagpiper John Deignan sums up the sometimes comical nature of music competition: “My wife just shakes her head at the whole scene and thinks we’re all ridiculous. To her, reducing music to a sport is sacrilege. ‘No one should ever have to lose at playing music,’ she says” (Spring 2005, p.70).

Dougald MacNeill supports the view that American attitudes to competition seem more serious than the attitudes of Scottish pipers, but he does not draw the conclusion that this intensity on the part of Americans is bad: “Americans, if they take something up, they take it very, very much more seriously. I see that as a big difference. We don’t have quite the same attitude as that. Which is maybe not a great thing. I mean, there’s nothing like practice” (personal interview, March 3, 2011).

Not all competitors view competition in such cutthroat terms as the examples presented by the students at St. Thomas Episcopal School. Grade III competitor Julie Hahnke compares her experiences in professional sailing competition to those in bagpiping: “I got so tired of the ‘win at all costs’ mentality in sailboat racing, and as I

started piping competitions I found a totally different mindset. The guy that made the fewest mistakes (well, musicality did count, too!) usually won. That meant we didn't resent other people 'beating' us (personal correspondence, November 12, 2013). Competitive spirit and educational opportunity aside, the prevalence and importance of competition within the bagpiping culture has caused what was intended to be an educational means to become an end in itself for many pipers. As an example, some students learn only the minimum number of tunes required for competition at their grade level. Nancy Tunncliffe places the responsibility for this on the shoulders of the teacher (Summer 1997, p.12). Pedagogical parlance in the United States refers to this attitude as "teaching to the test," where teachers sacrifice the outcomes of knowledge and understanding in the name of higher test scores, or in this case, in the name of competitive success.

What, then, is the real value of competition? James Bell observes the EUSPBA stresses music competitions as a means of improving, not only from a competitive perspective, but also as a method of raising the overall level of musical performance (Fall 2010, p. 5). Tunncliffe echoes this sentiment: "Competition is still one of the best ways I know to improve as a musician, even while it tests your patience (and that of your family!) to the occasional limit" (Winter 2003, p.20).

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the environments in which the transmission of bagpiping takes place, beginning by establishing definitions of formal, non-formal, and informal learning, before identifying and describing existing examples of each environment.

One of the observations I have drawn is that, based on the definitions I used, formal learning is the least-common environment for GHB music transmission.

Unlike Scotland, in the United States few public schools offer curricular instruction, although higher education in the United States appears to be leading Scotland in formal education for the GHB, at least in the number of universities offering bagpiping courses leading to some type of degree.

Non-formal environments are the most widespread and successful environments for GHB instruction in the United States. One of the significant conclusions I have drawn is that while studio lessons provide valuable instruction, many bagpipers do not avail themselves of this opportunity, whereas pipe bands offer the most instruction to the greatest number of players. Although there is no substitute for the detailed instruction provided during a studio lesson, the camaraderie of the pipe band setting appeals to most bagpipers.

The next significant conclusion I have drawn is that competition, an informal learning environment, offers many benefits to its participants. Since their inception in 1781, competitions have become the primary venue for performance, in addition to being one of the most popular informal learning environments, within the bagpiping culture. In addition to a sense of camaraderie between competitors, the challenge of facing a judge, combined with the prospect of receiving a helpful score sheet, appeals to many bagpipers, inspiring competitors to strive for continued musical development. This is true for pipe bands as well as solo competitors.

CHAPTER VIII: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

For all living cultures, there is a danger of death. The GHB culture has survived many challenges to its existence, yet continues to endure. The Scottish bagpiping community in America has witnessed three distinct eras, the latest of which began in earnest following the Second World War. Will the bagpiping community in the United States in this “Third Era” fade as has happened twice in the past, or grow to become a “Golden Age” of bagpiping?

At the beginning of this dissertation, I stated two goals. The first goal, to chart the presence of the GHB in the Eastern United States from its initial introduction into the American Colonies, through its current place in Scottish-American culture, including an examination of possible obstacles affecting the potential growth of the bagpiping community in the Eastern United States, was addressed in Part I, consisting of Chapters II-IV. The second goal, to examine student and teacher perceptions, pedagogical and andragogical methods of transmission, and the environments in which transmission takes place, was addressed in Part II, Chapters V-VII. In this final chapter I present a summary of my results, along with my conclusions based on my findings from each chapter. Finally, I offer possible topics for future research.

Summary and Conclusions by Chapter

Chapter I provided an introduction to the dissertation, including thesis questions, research challenges, and a review of pertinent literature. Of particular note was my declamation of insider bias, which I contrasted with outsider misinterpretation. In revealing myself to be an insider to the culture, I defended my right to proceed, citing precedent from other insider-researchers and my own personal training as a bagpiping adjudicator. Following this introduction, the

dissertation was divided into two parts, with Part I, consisting of Chapters II-IV, tracing the history and development of bagpiping in the Eastern United States, and Part II, consisting of Chapters V-VII, examining attitudes and pedagogical practices in the bagpiping community.

Chapter II traced the introduction and development of bagpiping to the Eastern United States from the earliest documented Scottish colonial presence to 2013. I discovered there have been three major immigrations of Scots to the United States, and each one brought the GHB as part of the immigrant culture. The findings indicate that although there has been some presence of bagpiping in America almost continuously since early colonial times, the current condition of bagpiping in the Eastern United States owes its high playing standard and strong organizational foundation almost exclusively to the Scottish bagpipers who immigrated following the Second World War. The earliest immigrations did not establish a permanent bagpiping presence for a variety of reasons. The pre-Revolutionary War immigration failed to achieve a permanent bagpiping presence because many of the Scottish immigrants were loyalists, large numbers of whom fled the United States after the war to relocate in Canada or return to Britain. Subsequent immigrations likewise failed to achieve the successful creation of a strong, well-organized bagpiping community. This failure was due to: the vast distances and poor level of communications in the United States during these years; the scarcity of available, qualified teachers; and the historical fact that the pipe band, a primary micro-community of the larger bagpiping community, did not appear in Scotland until the 1850s, and not in the United States until the 1890s. The post-Second World War immigration saw an influx of enthusiastic, dedicated, and highly qualified GHB teachers, especially to the Eastern United States. Because of this immigration,

native-born Americans, whether or not of Scottish descent, were for the first time able to avail themselves of a high standard of instruction, which led to tremendous growth in the competitive standard as well as the general popularity of the instrument. American pipers and pipe bands now compete successfully at all levels in Scotland. American solo competitors have won nearly every major prize in Scotland, including three American soloists who have won the Gold Medal, with many more travelling each year to compete successfully at various venues in Scotland. Although an American band has yet to win the Grade I World Championship, two bands from the United States achieved finalist positions in 2012, and every other grade has been won at least once by a United States pipe band.

Chapter III focused on the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association from its inception in 1964 to the end of 2013. The bagpiping tradition in the EUSPBA emanates from and largely emulates the parent culture in Scotland. While differences exist between the two countries, the similarities vastly outweigh the differences. These differences include: a melded culture of solo and pipe band playing in the United States that is not found in Scotland; a much greater population of adult beginners in the United States; a far greater emphasis on purposeful education, manifested in the popularity and number of summer camps and schools throughout the United States; and a much more analytical approach to judging, as evidenced by the development of standardized score sheets and judges' exams, both of which are EUSPBA innovations. These characteristics are not confined to the EUSPBA, but span the United States, and have now been adopted by many other bagpiping associations worldwide. On the other hand, ensemble judging in the EUSPBA appears to lag behind Scotland.

One of the primary obstacles facing the development of bagpiping in the United States remains the vast geographic area, frequently isolating one pocket of development from another. The relatively short time organized bagpiping has been established in the United States presents another obstacle to growth.

Bagpipers in the United States are more likely to participate in both band and solo competition, as opposed to their Scottish counterparts, who usually choose one subculture or the other. The melding of solo and pipe band playing, considered unusual in Scotland, has the effect of encouraging more pipe band members to compete in solo events. Furthermore, bagpiping in the United States is widely popular as a hobby among adult beginners, and this phenomenon, almost unheard of in Scotland, has led to the necessary establishment of a grading system for solo competitors based on ability rather than age.

Also observed was the condition of Scottish drumming, a marginal, but vital subculture within the community. The Eastern United States suffers from a perennial shortage of drummers, and this dearth manifests itself in fewer and weaker pipe bands than the attendant bagpiping population might otherwise support. Recruitment of drummers must be addressed if the community expects to grow and become competitive at the highest international levels.

In Chapter IV I examined the future of bagpiping in the United States, including recruitment methods, which often appear to be haphazard, and obstacles to growth, including the vast geographic distances involved, and a lack of locally available, qualified teachers. Misinformation and misconceptions, although diminishing, remain, both from within and without the bagpiping world.

The word “professional” was discussed as a problematic term, which distracts and detracts from the possible expansion of bagpiping as a true profession. Until

bagpiping becomes a professionally sustainable occupation, bagpiping will remain a hobby, and the GHB will not be viewed as a serious instrument in the eyes of the greater music community.

Bias and prejudice, including age and gender bias, exist in the bagpiping world, but these are not considered to be significant dangers to the growth of the community. What prejudice does exist emanates largely from outside the bagpiping community.

The most alarming observations I have made regard growth trends within the EUSPBA, and initial findings suggest a significant negative growth over the last few years. This decline in membership is particularly disturbing in light of the fact that the GHB community in the United States has already experienced two previous eras of growth followed by severe decline.

Finally, in the opinion of many leaders in the bagpiping community, emphasis must be placed on engaging new audiences if the culture is to remain viable. No longer dependent solely on the Scottish-American community for its survival, the future of the GHB community in the United States appears to be in the hands of the bagpipers themselves.

Part II, consisting of Chapters V-VII, focused on the pedagogical aspects of bagpiping.

Chapter V examined student motivations and attitudes toward entry into the bagpiping community, as well as changing perspectives as the student becomes enculturated. Based on varying definitions of the word “community,” initially identified in Chapter I, I described the worldwide manifestation of bagpiping culture as a macro-community, Pipe Band Associations as communities, and pipe bands as micro-communities.

Reviewing a wide range of responses from bagpipers, I found they entered the community for a variety of reasons, including: a family connection- a relative played the GHB; exposure to the GHB through the movies; an emotional or wartime experience; connecting with or discovering Scottish cultural identity; and the opportunity to join a group, becoming part of the community. Students most often gave multiple motives for initial entry, but the most prevalent reason was a professed love for the sound of the instrument. None of my respondents began playing the GHB because they were looking for a community, although many of them acknowledged community as an unintended benefit of participation.

Non-competing bands, also known as “street bands,” a marginal subculture of the bagpiping community, often exclude themselves from the macro-community. Because of mutual disdain and distrust, this separation from the greater bagpiping community often prevents the two groups from communicating with each other. The competition bands hold the street bands in contempt because of a perceived lack of devotion to musical excellence, while the street bands fear the competition bands because of a perceived lack of enjoyment in striving for competitive excellence. These mutually defeating and often invalid perceptions drive a wedge within the greater community.

Although the kilt remains a vital icon of the bagpiping community, and although Scotland is the ancestral home of the instrument, the GHB has become the centre of its own community and culture, largely independent of the greater Scottish community. This was not a deliberate separation, and certainly not a complete divorce. Rather, the bagpiping community and the larger Scottish community interface cooperatively from time to time at such events as Highland games and Burns suppers, otherwise pursuing their own agendas and goals.

Chapter VI studied the intangible concepts of teacher attitudes and self-perception, then described specific pedagogical methods used by GHB teachers. First, teachers begin teaching for a variety of reasons, but all accomplished teachers appear to possess certain universal attitudes toward teaching. Second, teacher satisfaction and fulfillment are viewed as important considerations by many teachers. Third, teacher transparency, a perceived willingness on the part of the teacher to be generous and forthcoming with knowledge, was deemed important by students and teachers alike. Fourth, there appears to be a spectrum of philosophy on adherence to interpretation of style, especially in piobaireachd, ranging from strict faithfulness to one's teacher, to an eclectic, catholic view of musicality. Finally, many teachers value the opportunity and ability to inspire and mentor students beyond the mere instruction of technique.

In terms of concrete teaching practice, there is more than one accepted method, but there are not unlimited methods. The three primary general strategies are rote learning, written music and tutor books, and an aural/oral method, with most teachers employing some variation of all three methods from time to time.

Two primary methods for teaching the basics of bagpiping became apparent in this study. The first, I named the "Exercises First" method, which requires a student to spend extended amounts of time exclusively on scales and exercises prior to receiving his first tune, and the second, which I titled, the "College of Piping" method, a graded sequence of lessons modeled after the *College of Piping Tutor, Part One*, designed to allow the student to play music in as short a time as possible, which appears to be the far more popular of the two methods among teachers and students. The "College of Piping" method does not have to actually use the *College of Piping Tutor* to qualify as this method. The name simply indicates the original

manifestation of the method. Each method has its merits and its drawbacks. The “College of Piping” method allows the student to begin his first tune within a few weeks of his first lesson. The disadvantage to this approach is that a student might not spend the necessary time precisely developing embellishments. The “Exercises First” method drills scales and embellishments into the hands of the student. This approach allows the student the necessary time to establish good technique. The presumed disadvantage is that the extensive amount of time spent on practicing scales to the exclusion of tunes could cause the beginner to lose interest, although this has not been unequivocally proven. Both systems are still in use, and teachers who use each system report high retention and progress among their students.

Regarding specific subject matter, the least understood aspect of teaching is memorization. Teachers expressed frustration with students who have exceptional difficulty memorizing, and most were at a loss how to correct this issue. Theory instruction is also severely underdeveloped across the community. Sight reading and ear training received varying degrees of attention from teachers, and methodological decisions often appear to be made based on the way the teacher was taught. Transition to the GHB was taught by most teachers as some variation of a stepwise approach, beginning with part of the GHB, the bag and either one or more of the drones only or chanter only, gradually adding components as the student gained proficiency. Piobaireachd instruction does not appear to have changed in the last three hundred years. Apart from the addition of written music as an aid to memory, most teachers still teach the musical aspects of piobaireachd by singing.

Chapter VII identified the environments in which bagpiping transmission occurs in the United States. In studying learning environments, I first defined types of learning as formal, non-formal, and informal, based on European definitions.

Following this, I described various environments, including: public school and higher education; weekend workshops; summer schools; studio classes; and pipe bands, before turning my attention to the educational benefits associated with competition. I concluded that formal education is in its infancy in the United States, appearing rarely in public schools and higher education, although higher educational opportunities are more prevalent in the United States than in Scotland. The studio is the most effective non-formal environment for individualized instruction, but the most popular learning environment is the pipe band, while competitions, usually held at Highland games is the most popular venue for informal learning.

Limitations and Topics for Further Research

The parameters of this study were limited by several factors. First, since there have been no thorough studies chronicling the inception and development of bagpiping in the United States, the first part of this dissertation was necessarily broad based and general. Additionally, the apparent scarcity of primary source material, especially from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries reduced what was initially intended to be an exhaustive history into what could more appropriately termed a survey. There is room for a more detailed account of the early development of bagpiping in the United States, but this depends on the discovery of new primary source material.

The chapters devoted to the early development of bagpiping were further limited to the geographic area encompassed by the Eastern United States Pipe Band Association, which although huge, forced me to completely avoid a study of the Midwest and Western United States, which have colourful and important histories of their own. Additionally, a more thorough comparison between the development of piping in the United States and Canada could further inform teaching practice. The

influence of Canadian military bagpiping and its impact on the Canadian civilian bagpiping community, would be of great interest, especially comparing those results to the growth of bagpiping in the United States, which does not have a military bagpiping tradition.

The influence of Irish pipe bands was mentioned, but not examined in great depth, and this subculture deserves a more thorough investigation. The influence of Irish pipe bands in the northeast is significant, and a study could easily expand to include the Chicago area, which also has a strong Irish pipe band presence.

Although several selected pioneers in American piping are mentioned in Appendix 3.1, this list is by no means complete, and each of these leaders deserve an in-depth biographical study. This suggestion brings a matter of some urgency, as four of my respondents, pioneers of the Third Era, died during the course of my research.

A detailed examination of summer school teaching practice would greatly inform teacher development in these venues. There is much of educational value yet to be learned from an in-depth study of the summer camp experience available to pipers.

Further research of individual choices to identify more with one ethnic background than another, could provide insight into the motivation behind those choices, and this might be of interest to sociologists.

From an historical perspective, one interesting consideration would be to try to discover the rationale for developing GHB competitions in the first place. This is a topic open to conjecture, because the stated goals of the Highland Society of London, the preservation of GHB music, could just as easily have been achieved with a recital as with a competition.

Further research into the American adult learner phenomenon is warranted. It would be an interesting topic for future research to find the average age of beginners in Scotland as compared to the United States.

Final Remark

In a commentary on the growth of bagpiping in the Eastern United States, EUSPBA founding member MacLean MacLeod remarks on a prediction made by Seumas MacNeill in 1973:

Seumas MacNeill, in the games' program of 1973, wrote an article on "Piping in America." He concluded with "The position in piping now is similar to the situation in golf at the beginning of this century. The Scots invented it, became the experts at it then sent their teachers to America. Today it is hardly remembered that clouting the gutty ball with a well-formed cleek OJ jigger was at one time the prerogative of the Scot. Perhaps the day will eventually come when Americans and Canadians will consider it rather quaint that the Scots also play the GHBs." And to that, I say "Amen" (Summer 2008, p. 21).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1.1 Representative Interview Questions for Judges

This list of questions was used as a template for the personal interviews I conducted with piping judges. In that I wanted to allow each judge the freedom to expound as he saw fit, I viewed these questions as a “starting point.” Each interview took its own path as the judges spoke about things in which they were particularly interested. I encouraged them to include any personal reflection and anecdote that came to mind. As the respondent exhausted one topic, only then did I move on to the next question. Furthermore, if I thought of a question I did not have listed, or if the interviewee’s responses triggered a question, I felt comfortable asking them.

1. When did you start on the GHB?
2. Who was your first teacher?
3. Why did you want to start, or did you have a choice?
4. Do you remember whether you had any preconceived ideas about what it would be like?
5. What was it like compared to your initial thoughts?
6. Lots of people take up the pipes, but not so many become great pipers. Describe your journey to professional piping.
7. How did your first teacher teach?
8. Did he use a method book?
9. When did you first begin teaching?
10. What was the state of piping when you arrived in the USA?
11. Who were the primary teachers when you arrived?
12. Describe your teaching methodology in the following areas:
 - a. Memory work
 - b. Sight reading and theory instruction
 - c. Transition to GHB
 - d. Learning to march
 - e. Tuning
 - f. Piobaireachd
 - g. Mastery

13. In what ways has your teaching methodology and philosophy changed over the years?
14. Do you feel that the GHB connects you to Scotland?
15. How about the greater Scottish culture?
16. The term “homeland” appears in much of the literature surrounding bagpiping and other ethnic music. Are there any thoughts of “homeland” in your feelings toward the GHB?
17. Is cultural immersion important to you as a piper?
18. Is the kilt important to you?
19. Is cultural immersion important to you as a teacher?
20. To what extent do you think the culture is growing/shrinking/changing?
21. To what extent do you think the USA copies or follows Scotland?
22. What are some of the challenges facing today’s teachers?
 - a. Geography?
 - b. Cultural and societal prejudices?
23. How do you envision the future of piping?
24. How could or does the GHB fit into the world of entertainment?
25. How do you envision the future of Highland games?
26. What is the potential for growth in popularity of the GHB?
27. How do we achieve that growth?

APPENDIX 1.2 General Survey Questions

This list of questions was sent to forty-five pipers, of whom thirty-two responded to one or more questions. Not every respondent replied to every question. However, several added comments that were not directly related to the questions. As with any group of respondents, some were more forthcoming than others.

1. Describe your connection to and participation in bagpiping.
2. Why did you take up the GHB? (motivation/reasons)
3. How has that motivation changed (if it has changed) as you have continued with the instrument?
4. To what extent do you relate your bagpiping experience to anything having to do with Scotland or Ireland?
5. What motivates (or motivated, if you are not currently competing) you to compete?
6. Have you ever been aware of, or subject to, gender bias?
7. Describe your initial learning experience.
8. If you teach, how did your learning experiences impact your teaching practices?
9. Do you feel that the GHB connects you to Scotland?
10. How about the greater Scottish culture?
11. The term “homeland” appears in much of the literature surrounding bagpiping and other ethnic music. Are there any thoughts of “homeland” in your feelings toward the GHB?
12. Is cultural immersion important to you?
13. Is the kilt important to you?

APPENDIX 2.1 Time Magazine Article transcript

September 19, 1938—In 1682 a band of Scotsmen, led by Reverend George Keith of Aberdeen, landed on the shores of New Jersey, founded the now-forsaken village of Old Scots. Since that time generations of Scots have settled in New Jersey's northeastern industrial and mining regions. Today, the clans of New Jersey number 13, most prominent among them the Clan Gordon and the Clan Cameron. Seven years ago the New Jersey clans decided to commemorate their forbears' arrival. The celebration was held not on the site of Old Scots itself but in the neighboring hamlet of Holmdel, where at Scot Theron McCampbell's sylvan Forum estate there was ample elbow room for such Scottish high jinks as sword dancing, piping and tossing the caber. Holmdel's first Scottish Games became an annual event, and with the passing of the years Scots from far beyond New Jersey's glens came to witness them, and such famed pipers as the late Angus MacMillan Fraser squealed and skirled for prizes in Holmdel's pipe contest.

Last week Holmdel attracted some 6,000 clansmen dressed in kilts and plaids. The main event of the day, as usual, was the piping contest. Contestants were judged on points, 100 being regarded as a perfect score. Twenty-five of the hundred points were allowed for time, 25 for tone, 50 for execution (the technique of trills and capers with which every good piper decks out the tune he is playing). If a piper missed a melodic trick, or if he allowed his reed to "choke" (stop vibrating for lack of air), he was docked a point or two by the judges. Last week's winners: stocky James Bremner of Kearny, Pipe-Major John MacKenzie of Brooklyn, Piper Edmund Tucker of Manhattan.

APPENDIX 3.1 Notable American Teachers

The current high level of piping in the United States can be attributed directly to the influx of Scottish immigrants in the years immediately following the Second World War. Donaldson states, “One of the factors contributing to the rise in quality of Highland dancing in this country was the emigration of Scots dancers (like Scots pipers) to the US” (1986, p.147). Along with Scottish immigrants, a growing number of native-born Americans have influenced the postwar development of bagpiping in the United States. The stories of these teachers deserve a dedicated historical study, but it is appropriate to list a brief representative selection of some of the leaders in the growth of piping in the latest American bagpiping renaissance.

Joseph Brady, Sr. March 6, 1931- January 23, 2013

Joseph Brady, Sr., an American-born piper of Irish extraction, was integral to the growth and development of piping in the New York area. (Stein, Spring 2010, p.40). Piper Eric Stein describes Brady’s extensive contribution to the piping culture:

Joe loved the sound of the GHBs and started taking lessons from Jim Cramsey at the age of 17. Soon, however, he was able to study under P/M John MacKenzie of the Black Watch, who immigrated to New York City. Joe played with and contributed to no less than a dozen bands over the years, including his first, Clan Eiran, and County Armagh, Glengarry (under P/M Jim Petrie), Kenmure, St. Columcille (where he drummed), and the FBI Band (that his son started in 1988). He was the Pipe Major of the Yonkers Kiltie band and the Thistle Gildry band. He instructed many bands (piping, drumming and drum major) including the New York City Transit Police band for many years. One of his great achievements was starting the Iona College Pipe Band in the early 60s. He graduated from Iona in 1953 and maintained a relationship with the Gaelic Society (Spring 2010, p.40).

George Bell 1926-January 16, 2010

Native Scot George Bell immigrated to the United States in 1951 (Lindsay, Spring 2010, p.27). A former student of Bell, Lindsay states:

After arriving in America, George stayed with relatives, in Glen Ridge, New Jersey. He eventually joined the Lovat Pipe Band, which was based in New York City, and was under the direction of P/M John MacKenzie. John had served in the HLI along with Robert Reid, and like Reid, I believe that he had received his main piobaireachd tuition from John MacDougall-Gillies. When I was studying with George, he would periodically make the trek into the City, to get “run-throughs” on piobaireachd from John MacKenzie (Spring 2010, p.27).

George Bell was an excellent, dedicated, and demanding teacher. Lindsay states:

For the young generation of pipers, George was the model of a professional. As a teacher, he encouraged his pupils to be immaculate in every way. George’s timing and expression of the tunes was always excellent. He was very demanding of his students. If the tunes were not played with excellent timing and expression, they would not get George’s approval. Through all of that, you understood that the tunes meant a great deal to him and he always wanted his pupils to reach for the highest levels of performance (Spring 2010, p.28).

A lifelong student, in 1963 George began studies with Pipe Major Donald MacLeod, MBE. Lindsay states: “This was a very fortuitous occasion for piping. George became one of a very few pipers to continue that study until Donald’s passing in 1982” (Spring 2010, p.29). In terms of his service to the EUSPBA, Bell was one of the most important and influential contributors. Lindsay states:

By 1973, George had become a central figure in the Eastern United States Pipe Band Judging Program. George played an important, ongoing role in the development of the Eastern United Pipe Band Association. He served as Chairman of the Adjudication Advisory Board from its inception until 1994. The purpose of the AAB is to continue to build an effective judging panel of Solo Light Music and Piobaireachd Piping Judges, as well as Band Piping, Ensemble, Snare and Mid-Section and Drum Major adjudicators (Spring 2010, p.29).

Bell’s four sons carry on the tradition of excellence in bagpiping and drumming, with all four serving as members of the EUSPBA Judges Panel, two as pipers and two as drummers. In addition, his youngest son, James Bell, is the director of the GHB program at Lyon College in Arkansas.

Robert Gilchrist

Another influential Scottish immigrant, Robert Gilchrist worked to develop piping in the New Jersey-Delaware area. Albert McMullin, Robert Gilchrist's former student, speaks of his teacher:

Although a well-known piping judge, Bob Gilchrist will be best remembered as a teacher. He taught with a firm desire for getting it right and never allowed his students to settle for second best. His 'boys' were always in the prize lists at every games where his bands competed. His students, as well as his students' students, continue the tradition. It would be very difficult to measure the true impact he had on raising the standard of playing in the eastern United States" (Summer 1995, p. 31).

Gilchrist and Bell were particularly close friends, immigrating within a few weeks of each other, and playing an integral role in the inception of the EUSPBA (Bell, personal interview, September 17, 2011).

Sandy Jones

American-born piper Sandy Jones is perhaps best known as the former pipe major of the United States Air Force Pipe Band. Piper Nathaniel Green states: "After high school, Jones joined the Air Force and went straight to the Air Force Pipe Band in Washington, DC (which requires top-secret clearance). Then, he 'played GHBs the next 20 years for a living'" (Spring 2012, p.16). Jones recalls: "When I first went in, the Air Force band was part of the Drum and Bugle Corps, but we got so busy they ended up separating us and making a separate unit of it. We were the band that played at the gravesite for President Kennedy" (Green, Spring 2012, p.16). For many years Jones was the Director of Bagpiping at the Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina, and was the founder of the North American Academy of Bagpiping, in North Carolina.

Roderick MacDonald April 20, 1941 - October 22, 2012

Roddy MacDonald, a native of Dunoon, Scotland, immigrated to the United States in 1963 (MacDonald, R., personal interview, February 23, 2012). A gifted composer, as well as a successful competitor, teacher, and respected judge, MacDonald was influential in the development of the EUSPBA proficiency exam program. Competitor, teacher, and judge, Chris Hamilton states: “Roddy was my instructor for several years, and certainly has had far-ranging influence on American piping, as his students read like a ‘Who’s who’ of modern EUSPBA pipers” (Fall 2009, p.6). I was fortunate to be able to interview MacDonald eight months before he died.

James McIntosh, MBE b. June 19, 1925

As a student of Robert Brown and Robert Nicol, pipers to the Royal Family, known affectionately as the “Bobs of Balmoral,” Scottish expatriate James McIntosh, MBE, has continued to be a strong advocate of the “Balmoral” school of piping. He immigrated to the United States in 1983. In McIntosh’s own words, he describes some of his accomplishments: “I was the founder of the CPA, and, along with Col. David Murray, was instrumental in having the Silver Medal Competition introduced, so I had an added interest in the Silver Medal competition” (Summer 1995, p.33).¹²³ McIntosh was the founder of the Balmoral School of Bagpiping, a series of summer camps conducted at various locations throughout the United States. McIntosh was also instrumental in the founding of the degree program at Carnegie Mellon University, and served as its first director. In 1995 he received the MBE for his services to bagpiping.

¹²³ The CPA is the Competing Piper’s Association of Scotland.

MacLean MacLeod October 18, 1923 - September 21, 2013

Native Scot MacLean Macleod worked since his arrival in the United States in 1956 to develop the GHB culture. One of the founders of the EUSPBA, he was also instrumental in the inception of the Colonial Highland Gathering, also known as “Fairhill,” one of the largest and oldest events in the northeast. In 1995 he was recognized for his efforts. Paula Glendinning states:

Every year since 1985, the Balvenie Medal has been awarded at the Glenfiddich contest ‘For Service to Piping.’ This year the Medal was given to MacLean MacLeod for his work in developing the U.S. Piping Foundation. MacLean has spent many years encouraging the advancement of Open and Amateur piping in the U.S., and deserves our warmest congratulations for this great honor (Summer 1995, p. 38).

Visiting Scots

In addition to Scots who immigrated to the United States, many Scottish teachers traveled to visit, conducting summer schools and workshops. These include drummer Alex Duthart, William MacDonald of Benbecula, John MacFadyen, Angus MacLellan, Donald MacLeod, Seumas MacNeill, Donald Shaw Ramsay, who actually lived in California for a short time before returning to Scotland, and Andrew Wright, among others. These men travelled only occasionally to the United States, and usually for only short periods at a time. While their direct long-term effect on the development of bagpiping in the United States cannot be quantified, it is certain that these teachers provided inspiration to American pipers.

APPENDIX 3.2 EUSPBA Score Sheets

Band Piping Score Sheet

EASTERN UNITED STATES PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION										Official Adjudicator's Sheet	
Place: _____					Date: _____					Band Piping	
Event: _____					Contestant: _____					#: _____	
Tune: _____					Judge: _____						

Chanter	HiA	HiG	F	E	D	C	B	LoA	LoG
Start									
Finish									

Intro					Drone Tuning (E,V,G,G,F,P)	Start	_____
Drones:	Together	_____	Early	_____	Chanter Tone	_____	Overall Blend _____
E's:	Together	_____	Early	_____	Drone Tone	_____	
	In tune	_____	Underblown	_____			
Tempo:	As called	_____	Increased	_____			
		_____	Decreased	_____			

	Ex	VG	G	F	P
Execution					
Expression					
Rhythm					
Union					

Ending	_____
Clean	_____
Late Chanter	_____
Late Drone	_____
Pitch Change	_____
Union Loss	_____
Tempo Unsteady	_____
Volume Decrease	_____

Above Grade Level _____

Possible Disqualification Issue _____

Summary: _____

AGL ☐ PLACE ☐

Adjudicator Signature

Rev. 12/11 WHITE: Competitor's Yellow: EUSPBA

Band Ensemble Score Sheet

EASTERN UNITED STATES PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION

Official Adjudicator's Sheet

Place: _____ Date: _____ Band Ensemble

Event: _____ Contestant: _____ #: _____

Tune: _____ Judge: _____

Intro					
Rolls:	Together	___	Smooth	___	Pulsed
Drones:	Together	___	Early	___	Double Tone
F's:	Together	___	Early	___	Late
	In tune	___	Underblown	___	Overblown
Tempo:	As called	___	Increased	___	Decreased

	E	Vg	G	F	P
Tuning					
Tone					

Unison-Pipes					
Unison-Snare					
Unison-Midsection					
Unison-Overall					

Execution					
-----------	--	--	--	--	--

Expression					
Phrasing					
Tempo					
Transitions					
Harmony					
Rhythm					
Dynamics					
Quality of Arrangement					

Ending: Clean ___
 Late Pipes ___
 Late Drum ___
 Unison Loss ___
 Tempo Change ___
 Volume Decreased ___

Above Grade Level ___

Possible Disqualification Issue ___

Summary: _____

AGL ☐ PLACE ☐

 Adjudicator Signature

Rev. 12/11

WHITE: Competitor's Yellow: EUSPBA

Solo Piping Light Music Score Sheet

EASTERN UNITED STATES PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION

Official Adjudicator's Sheet

Place: _____ Date: _____ Piping: Light Music

Event: _____ Contestant: _____ #: _____

Tunes: _____ Judge: _____

Chanter	HiA	HiG	F	E	D	C	B	LoA	LoG
Start									
Finish									

Tempos:

Appropriate _____
 Too Fast _____
 Too Slow _____
 Steady _____
 Unsteady _____

Execution:

(E,V,G,G,F,P) _____

Expression:

(E,V,G,G,F,P) _____

Sound	Ex	VG	G	F	P
Drone Tuning: Start					
Drone Tuning: End					
Tone: Drones					
Tone: Chanter					
Overall Blend					

Summary: _____

AGL ☐ PLACE ☐

 Adjudicator Signature

Rev. 12/11

WHITE: Competitor's Yellow: EUSPBA

APPENDIX 6.1 GHB Tutor Books

Throughout the Twentieth Century several notable pipers developed tutor books. Some of them, even those from the early part of the century, are still widely used. The purpose of this appendix is to present a critical review of the most popular tutor books currently in print and available to the general public. In addition to a critical review of all known methods books currently in print, several tutors are included from the author's personal collection which are no longer available to the general public. When there are several tutors in a series, only the initial tutor is examined. Also excluded from the body of this work are CD/DVD tutors and piobaireachd (classical GHB music) tutors. The tutors are presented in order of publication, and each is reviewed on its own merits. Recommendations for further study conclude the review.

A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe was the first instructional book for the GHB, but was not used as such, because most GHB teachers could not read music at the time. Written music gradually made its way into the world of piping, but the first widely accepted GHB tutor did not appear until 1883, when David Glen, an Edinburgh GHB maker, published his tutor. By this time Scottish life and culture had migrated from the Highlands to the Lowland cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the primary medium of that culture had changed from oral to typographical. Although GHB teachers still taught largely by singing, now the requirement was to learn to read and write music. Because of this cultural shift, written tutor books were not only welcomed, they were essential.

Classification of GHB Tutors

GHB tutor books can be divided into two groups. The first classification could be referred to as the brief tutor/music collection type. These are tutor books in

name only, with only a basic educational intent, no planned lessons, and little instructional narrative. They usually include a collection of music in the second part of the book. The second group could be designated as method books. Method books are distinguished by some type of planned lesson sequence. These books might have additional music at the end, but that is not the primary intent of the work. The first tutors written were all of the first order, and occasionally some tutor books of this nature continue to be published to this day. The first method book was written by the College of Piping and published in 1953.

DAVID GLEN'S HIGHLAND BAGPIPE TUTOR, by David Glen, 1883

Although several “tutor” books had been published prior to this collection, David Glen’s tutor was the first to actually attempt to provide explanation of GHB music. The book begins with an exposition of basic music theory as it applies to the GHB, followed by grace note exercises, an explanation of all doublings and other embellishments, and a brief explanation of how to: blow the GHB; tune drones; set reeds; and beat time.

The book itself contains seventeen pages of instruction, which are numbered with roman numerals, followed by fifty-three pages of tunes, including the piobaireachd, “The Blue Ribbon.” There are many outstanding features to this tutor, including Glen’s description on page iii of the duration of a whole note, which is remarkably simple and effective. He states, “The duration of the semibreve is the time we should occupy in pronouncing deliberately One, Two, Three, Four” (Glen, p.iii). His description of time signature, later on page iii, is also very clear and concise, avoiding the half-truth and inaccurate description of the top number representing the number of beats per measure, and the bottom number showing the note value that gets the beat:

TIME-A sign called the time signature is placed after the clef to tell us what value in notes each bar is to contain. When the character C... ..is used, each bar must contain one semibreve-The Whole Note- or its equivalent in notes of lesser duration. Every other time is denoted by two figures placed one above the other. The higher figure-the numerator- tells us how many notes each bar is equal to, and the lower one-the denominator- what fractional portions of a semibreve these notes are to be (Glen, p.iii).

There is a finger chart which uses an archaic finger position for C (open C), of which this writer was aware, and also for High A (E&F holes both closed) of which this writer was not aware (Glen, p.iv). Upon further reflection, it is possible that this is a typographical error, and intended to be only the F hole closed, which was a common alternate finger position.

As a stand-alone tutor, this book would be impractical, as the explanations for the various exercises show. The explanation for the first exercise would be completely incomprehensible to a beginning student without guidance from a teacher. Exercises two through seven would be even worse, and it is difficult to imagine a beginning student with or without a teacher being able to negotiate these exercises with any hope of success. There is simply not enough explanation in the instructions on how to execute the various embellishments, which he refers to archaically as “cuttings.”

When Glen gets to the explanations of doublings, he becomes undecipherable, and attempting to execute many of them precisely as instructed produces an incorrect result. Interestingly, he presents four different types of A, B, and C doublings, using different sequences of grace notes (Glen, pp.x-xii). Although alternate spellings of the various doublings may be found in old books, only one of these is in use today. One particular embellishment which, although standardized now, has been the cause of much discussion over many years is the taorluath. The question is whether pipers from the Nineteenth Century played the movement the

way it is played today, or if they played it with an extra note, the “redundant A.” Glen presents taorluaths written with the “redundant A” except on D, which he shows both with and without the “redundant A” (Glen, p.xiv). There are a few embellishments for which there is no modern equivalent, one of which Glen spells “High G gracenote on D, Low G, C gracenote on Low G to B” (Glen, p.xv). His leumluath movement is simply written incorrectly, with a low A in place of the second low G gracenote (Glen, p.xv). It is not possible to play the movement in the manner in which it is represented.

Glen presents several short paragraphs on various aspects of the GHB, including a one-paragraph statement on drone tuning, followed by one paragraph on setting chanter and drone reeds, a two-sentence explanation on beating time, and one paragraph on blowing the GHB. In his discussion on blowing the pipes he suggests an interesting sequence, “Having learned to play a few tunes on the chanter, the learner may proceed to learn the blowing of the pipes.” In light of that direction, what would a student have to learn in order to be able to play the first three tunes in the tutor? High A, High G, F, E, C and B doublings, taorluaths, leumluaths, birls, D throw, several half doublings, and echo beats. In short, most of the light music embellishments are needed. This confirms the teaching practice of that era: learn all of the embellishments in the first year or so, then get the first tune.

This tutor was clearly not meant as a method book, and there is no indication of any type of sequencing or lesson planning. In fact, the book was probably of more use to the teachers of the day, many of whom would have still been using written music as a secondary form of musical language, than to the student, who would have simply been clueless. The fact that each topic is so sparsely treated confirms this book was never meant as a stand-alone tutor.

Examining a book in this manner is like the difference between driving down the street and casually strolling down the same street. One can pick up many interesting details when travelling slowly enough to see the slugs on the sidewalk. The fifty-three tunes are all written out in archaic grace note style, but interestingly, the fiftieth tune in the collection, the “Reel of Tulloch,” is seven parts, including crunluath and crunluath a mach (Glen, p.27). This writer had always thought this setting was an invention of the late virtuoso, Duncan Johnstone, but now it is revealed as ancient kitchen music!

Although the parameters of this review specifically exclude piobaireachd tutors, the piobaireachd section of “Glen’s Tutor” reveal several noteworthy items. In the explanation of piobaireachd embellishments he refers to his book, *David Glen’s Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd*. Why bother putting a tune into a book when there is no hope of the student being able to play it? Perhaps the tune was included in the hope of encouraging sales of his other books. In “The Blue Ribbon,” Glen writes the themal notes in the crunluath and crunluath a mach as double-dotted eighth notes, a very advanced and unusual rhythmic notation, which would never actually appear in modern GHB music, and would be considered uncommon in most other forms of Western music literature of the time (Glen, p.32). This indicates a musically knowledgeable writer. Foreshadowing another point of Twenty-first Century conflict, Glen specifically writes out the D tra movement as a heavy D throw, including the second low G gracenote, and carries it over into the crunluath a mach (Glen, pp.29, 33). This is an interesting sidebar to respond to those who insist only the light D tra is acceptable in piobaireachd.

In that this tutor (and many subsequent publications) would be incomprehensible to a beginner, the question naturally arises, “Why did they bother

to develop a tutor section in the first place?” To understand the purpose and intended audience of this tutor, one must first understand the state of piping in the late Nineteenth to early Twentieth Century, and to understand the state of piping, one must first understand the history of Scotland up to that time. Following the Highland clearances, many Scots migrated to the big industrial centers of Glasgow and Edinburgh, to the Lowland coal belt, and to a lesser extent, to the economic centers of Aberdeen and Inverness. They brought with them such aspects of their Highland culture as they were able, but upon arrival in the cities these cultural anomalies mutated. In the case of piping, what had been primarily a solo pursuit now became increasingly dominated by the creation of the pipe band. Pipe bands had been invented in the 1850s during the Crimean War by the British army, but by the late Nineteenth Century civilian bands had begun to be formed, often by colliery and factory workers, as a Scottish equivalent of the English brass bands and the Welsh choral societies. These pipe bands became the primary Lowland expression of what was until then an exclusively Highland art form. The bands would originally have been taught by Highland migrants or British army retirees. Prior to the publication of “Glen’s Tutor,” teachers would have made everything up as they went along. However, at no point in the development of piping to this stage would anyone have dreamed of having to learn the pipes without the benefit of a teacher, nor would anyone have dreamed of beginning to learn to play the pipes as an adult. The idea of adult beginners is still considered unusual in the British educational system, where a student is pegged for aptitude in a subject by age fifteen. The idea of an adult beginner on the pipes would be met with the question, “Why would anyone, who has no chance to be a Gold Medalist, ever want to learn how to play the pipes?” So, the intended student would almost certainly have been a Scottish youth, aged eight to

twelve, who would have had immediate access (and this author means in the same tenement) to a teacher who was an accomplished piper. For that student, “Glen’s Tutor” would have done a good basic job.

LOGAN’S TUTOR, revised by Captain John MacLellan, MBE, 1963

The next tutor widely published in the Twentieth Century, and also the longest lived in actual practical use, is the *Logan’s Tutor*. First published in 1936, it is still used in places such as Orkney, and in other similar places where they have not yet heard of the College of Piping or electricity. The latest revision of the *Logan’s Tutor* was in 1963 by Captain John MacLellan, MBE, chief instructor of the Army School of Piping at Edinburgh Castle from 1959 to 1976 (Murray, 1983, p.291). The tutor section is divided into two parts. Like Glen, the first section of five pages, paginated in roman numerals, is devoted to a very basic introduction of general music theory, although near the top of page ii the following statement appears: “There are 32 beats in a measure of duple time and quadruple time, and 48 beats in a measure of triple time.” Why would anyone need this information by the second page of instruction?

MacLellan misinterprets time signature, unlike Glen, stating the top number is the number of beats per measure and the bottom number is the note value that gets a beat (MacLellan, 2003, p.ii). This is a minor detail, but is a source of misunderstanding among bagpipers to this day. He includes three pages on time signature and on the relationship between simple and compound time (MacLellan, 2003, pp.iii-iv). Although nothing else is inaccurate, none of this information is of any practical use to a beginner, who has no frame of reference for note values.

Two pages are taken up by four photographs of MacLellan putting a GHB on his shoulder, which is not a very economical or well-planned use of space, especially

since these pages immediately follow two pages on how to finger the notes of the scale (MacLellan, 2003, pp.viii-ix). Why would a student need to see pictures of a person putting a GHB on his shoulder on the page immediately following his first introduction to melody notes? Sequencing of instruction was clearly not considered in this tutor.

Although grace notes are mentioned, there is virtually no explanation of how to actually execute a grace note, and there is no explanation whatsoever on how to execute a high A grace note, even though there is an exercise written out for them (MacLellan, 2003, p.xiii). It would be practically impossible to negotiate these exercises without guidance from a teacher.

The tutor section concludes with four very brief subsections on: bag seasoning; blowing the GHB; setting drone reeds; and manipulating chanter reeds, similar to the brief paragraphs in Glen (MacLellan, 2003, pp. xvii-xviii). However, unlike Glen, MacLellan suggests beginning to blow on a goose immediately on the theory that transition from the practice chanter to the pipes will be easier that way (MacLellan, 2003, p.xviii). This is good advice, although in the short term a goose is an additional complication from a maintenance perspective, and in the long term a goose does not seem to make much difference to a student's ultimate progress.

Like Glen, the first three tunes contain almost every possible light music embellishment. There is no consideration of graduated difficulty in the presentation or selection of the tunes. There are a total of sixty-six tunes, thirty-eight marches and slow airs, and twenty-eight strathspeys and reels. There are no jigs or hornpipes. Following the light music section there is a six-page piobaireachd section, which includes all possible piobaireachd embellishments and their canntaireachd names (MacLellan, 2003, pp.37-42). It would perhaps be better if the written explanations

for these embellishments were omitted completely, because the directions for playing several of the movements are confusing and misleading.

Despite several revisions by at least two different editors, *Logan's Tutor* lacks much information necessary to be considered a viable tutor book.

HOW TO PLAY THE GHB by J. B. Robertson, 1946

Also: MASTER METHOD FOR HIGHLAND BAGPIPE by J.B. Robertson and D. S. Ramsay, 1953

These two books are essentially the same, with the second being a minor revision of the first. They follow the same format as Glen, giving a brief explanation of general music theory at the beginning, followed by a brief explanation of how to execute all of the GHB embellishments. These explanations are difficult for an accomplished piper to understand, so a beginner would likely have no chance at comprehension without guidance from a teacher.

The piobaireachd tutor section is very difficult to understand, and would be completely unintelligible without a knowledgeable teacher. There being no real advance on Glen, one wonders why the authors bothered with the tutor section. The principle value of these books is in the accompanying tune collection, which contains many fine competition marches not previously published.

SCOTTISH PIPE BAND ASSOCIATION TUTOR AND TEXTBOOK by Thomas MacAlister and Alex Duthart, 1962

MacAlister's and Duthart's book contains eight pages of general music theory, nine pages of specific GHB instruction, sixteen pages of snare drum tutor, five pages of bass and tenor, and four pages devoted to dress and deportment.

This is the first tutor to begin to present piping from a pipe band perspective, and the first to discuss the ensemble aspect of pipe bands. For this reason alone the

book is of great value. Although the drumming sections of the tutor are not reviewed here, they provide pertinent information of great value to pipers seeking to understand the ensemble and drumming aspects of pipe bands.

The general music theory section, although a good general reference, is not necessary or even appropriate for beginners. The general information is mostly correct, although the time signature definition is not (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.15). They use the “top number equals the number of beats” definition, which is misleading at best, and incorrect at worst. Included is a very good finger chart, with drawings, hole coverings, and written notes with names, including verbal instructions on how to go to the next note (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, pp.22-23). However, the first exercise, intended to develop the basic notes, requires a lot of jumping around on the scale, which would be impractical and daunting for a beginner (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.24).

As an exercise early in the tutor, the authors present part one of “Scotland the Brave” without any doublings (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.26). Perhaps the idea is to get the student into a recognizable tune as quickly as possible. The very next page has part two of “Scotland the Brave” written out in its entirety with complete embellishments (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.27). This is an exceptionally complex arrangement, which is introduced too soon in the student’s education. On the same page the student is first presented all of the doublings, and without further practice is expected to incorporate those doublings into the next exercise. In reality it would take weeks, if not months for a student to progress through this one page. This page is followed by birls, leumluaths, and taorluaths, after which “Scotland the Brave” is presented in its entirety (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, pp.28-29).

It is interesting to note that leumluaths are shown written out in “Scotland the Brave” part two (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.27), but are not actually introduced and explained until the next page (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.28).

At the end of the instruction on execution of embellishments, the authors present a short section on the GHB, including three short paragraphs on how to blow a GHB (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.30). The authors then present two short paragraphs on tuning, ending with the counsel on page 30, “A great deal of patience and practice is required to become proficient in this art.” One wonders if there was an understated smirk on the face of the person who wrote this advice. The next two paragraphs discussing maintenance of the bag are entertaining, describing the old way of seasoning a bag with treacle, syrup, or brown sugar: “The brown sugar, say half-a-pound, is dissolved in a cup full of boiling water, brought to a boil again, then lifted off and allowed to cool back to the required heat and that means a heat which you can put your fingers into without getting burned” (MacAlister and Duthart, 1962, p.31).

Like Glen and all the other tutors of this type, there would be no way to understand the complete instructions in this book without a teacher, but again, this was not apparently the purpose of any of the old tutor books.

COLLEGE OF PIPING TUTOR, PART ONE by Seumas MacNeill and Thomas Pearston, 1953

The *College of Piping Tutor, Part One* represents an astoundingly innovative breakthrough in GHB instruction. For the first time, a “learn as you go” method was attempted. In the forward to the first edition, reprinted in all subsequent editions, the authors state their purpose, “To present a number of simplified explanations, in carefully chosen steps, so that anyone, with a little application, may become a

competent performer on Scotland's national instrument" (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.7). This tutor was also designed to be a self-tutor, making it, "...possible for anyone to follow each step, even if he is unable to obtain any other help" (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.7).

The disclaimer, "Some teachers may not agree with certain details of this work, but they may rest assured that most alternatives have been considered. Nevertheless, the authors will be very glad to receive suggestions, criticisms, or reports of any kind..." was not mere lip service to humility (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.7). The first question on this writer's Teacher Certification Test, administered by the College of Piping on behalf of the Institute of Piping was, "How would you improve the *College of Piping Tutor, Part One*?" Modifications were made to subsequent editions as a result of this writer's answer to that question.

The tutor begins with a brief one-and-a-half page history of the GHB, the tone of which is fiercely nationalistic, "The person who sets out to be a piper should take pride in the fact that it is a noble instrument, with great traditions. It is capable of playing great music and much great music has been written for it. It is worthy of the learner's best efforts" (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.11).

Most musicians do not think of their instruments in such terms, but this is normal for pipers. Understanding the tone also gives the reader insight into the personality of the book's primary author, Seumas MacNeill. Born James MacNeill, he changed his name to Seumas, the Gaelic form of James. He, perhaps more than any other single person, was responsible for the internationalization of the GHB.

In the section titled "Preliminary Notes" the authors recommend writing down each tune by copying it into a manuscript book, "...and by the time you have copied ten tunes you will understand staff notation very well" (MacNeill and

Pearston, 1953, p.11). This is now a proven method for learning staff notation. Other instruction in this section includes the recommendation of one hour practice each day, practicing slowly, and paying attention to the lessons (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.11). Then follows two pages of instruction on purchasing and caring for a practice chanter, which were apparently included specifically to be of value if the student was without a teacher (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.12-13). One of the stated purposes of the tutor was to serve as an aid to students without access to a teacher, but even for a student with access to a teacher, the information is worth reading, and is written in an accessible manner.

Lesson One begins with the scale (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.14). This follows six pages of general information, easily readable in a few minutes, but which could be skipped prior to Lesson One as it is not a prerequisite for instruction.

The first lesson takes ten pages to explain nine notes, but each note is explained in a simple, straightforward, easy-to-understand manner. This is the first time any tutor gives clearly understandable instruction, and in doing so it lays a strong foundation for all subsequent lessons. During the first lesson, when checking finger position, the authors suggest asking “someone” to examine and compare the positioning in reference to the photo, suggesting the learner does not absolutely need an actual teacher at this point (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.18).

The authors originally designed the book so that the student would progress at the rate of one lesson each week, which would require the student to practice the scale by itself for one entire week. On occasion it is necessary to progress at this slow pace, but there is nothing in this book preventing the student from working ahead, and in fact, many teachers take an adept student through the first few lessons at the first meeting.

In contrast to all other tutor books, the *College of Piping Tutor* deals with note values in Lesson Two in the following way, “The three strokes on the tail [of the note] indicate that the note is of short duration. We will deal with duration of notes later, but at present it is sufficient to know that the more strokes a note has, the shorter it is to be played” (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.26). This is an amazingly innovative approach to learning, especially in light of tutors coming out of the Glen tradition, which seem to require fluency in rhythmic theory prior to the first note being played.

In Lesson Three, unbeknownst to the student, political conflict is brought out when the authors assert that both ways of playing a throw on D are acceptable in piobaireachd (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.31). Although historically correct (see notes on Glen), not all schools subscribe to this truth, and many “qualified” judges will count off for a heavy D throw in piobaireachd competition.

One disappointment with the latest edition of the *College of Piping Tutor* is the deletion of the line, “If you can’t sing Scots Wa’ Hae you shouldn’t be learning the pipes” (MacNeill and Pearston, 1953, p.44). This statement doesn’t exactly mean what it says. This was Seumas MacNeill asserting his nationalistic pride as a Scot and as a piper. If one expects to learn to play the pipes, MacNeill believed, one should know, among other things, the story of Bruce’s address to his troops at Bannockburn, and the song, “Scots Wa’ Hae,” written by the Scottish poet, Robert Burns to commemorate that story. The GHB is not “merely another instrument,” so pipers should not consider themselves “merely” musicians. Pipers are the guardians of Scottish national heritage and history, whether their name be MacDougall or Machinevsky. MacNeill understood this. Sadly, perhaps the latest editors have forgotten it.

The final two pages of the book list a selection of “practice scales.” (MacNeill and Pearston, 2003, pp.66-67) These are rather sparse, random, and poorly thought out relative to the rest of the book.

PIPE THE BAND by Lewis Davidson, 1950

This book, written by the Director of Piping at Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon University), in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, has fifteen pages of tutor, followed by sixteen pages of music comprising forty-one tunes. This book was written specifically as a textbook for students at Carnegie Tech.

The first seven pages of the tutor is basic music theory in the Glen format. Then follows three pages devoted to the scale, which includes a rough drawing of finger positioning. Following that is a drawing, inexplicably upside down, of a chanter with no finger positioning (Davidson, 1950, p.10). There is one page of written instruction in this section, most of which is one or two sentences per note (Davidson, 1950, pp.9-11). Davidson includes one page on grace notes, two pages on doublings, and one page on birls and taorluaths, all of which are sparsely described (Davidson, 1950, pp.11-14).

He then includes one page of instruction on playing the actual GHB, with the perhaps humorously intended remark, “Never use the pipe bag as a punching bag” (Davidson, 1950, p.15). One wonders what event led to this admonition.

Most of the tunes in the music section of the book are basic arrangements of simple, popular tunes, although many have unorthodox grace noting. This would cause potential problems for students during interactions with other pipers, since most other pipers play standardized settings of most of these tunes.

HOW TO PLAY THE BAGPIPE by Santorella, publication date unknown

This book is a re-typeset copy of *Pipe the Band*, by Lewis Davidson. As a result of this research paper, this book and its “author” came under investigation by the legal department of Carnegie Mellon University for copyright infringement.

BEGINNING THE BAGPIPE by Sandy Jones, 1981

This tutor includes thirty-five pages of instruction, followed by a supplemental tune section of six pages, including ten tunes. Sandy Jones’ stated goals and purpose are to create a piping “[T]utor that contains complete exercises for the beginning practice chanter student,” and to provide a simple precise method for both student and instructor, but which is adequate even for those without access to a teacher (Jones, 1981, p.III). He claims use of this method will give the student “...a thorough understanding of how to read music and play the practice chanter” (Jones, 1981, p.III). This claim has been validated by the many excellent students throughout the United States who have received their first instruction through this book.

Jones gives thanks and acknowledgement to the Scottish teachers who through immigration to North America or travel to teach at summer schools have been instrumental in raising the standard of performance in the USA and Canada. Among his introductory remarks Jones gives valuable advice to the beginner, stating truths such as it is better to practice half an hour every day than four hours in one day (Jones, 1981, p.IV).

Jones begins actual instruction with four pages of general music theory (Jones, 1981, pp.1-4). While this information will eventually be necessary, there is little need to begin with it. Then he adds two pages of photographs clearly showing correct finger positioning, with a page of “do’s and don’ts” (Jones, 1981, pp.5-8). This is reinforced with five pages of exercises (Jones, 1981, pp.9-14). This section would be greatly improved by more explanatory narrative, but the exercises are

valuable. Although the exercises are not overdone, the question Seumas MacNeill answers with an appropriate selection of tunes is, “Why spend time on exercises when the same thing can be accomplished with real music?” As an analogy, this writer had two main theory teachers, Dr. Ronald Hough, and Professor Donald Wilkins. Both were excellent teachers. Dr. Hough taught theory through a series of exercises. Professor Wilkins taught theory through a series of composition assignments. The former, being uncomfortable with his own composition skills, preferred teaching through simple theory exercises only. The latter, a gifted composer, essentially did two things at once, teaching both theory and composition at the same time. Perhaps the fact that one method is “better” doesn't necessarily make another one “worse.” However, as a teacher, this writer prefers the compression of time frames afforded by finding suitable tunes to accomplish necessary exercises.

Jones continues with five pages of simple grace note exercises, similar to the melody note exercises (Jones, 1981, pp.15-20). Then he adds six pages of instruction on slurs, D throws, half doublings, and top hand doublings, with the complete scale of each written out (Jones, 1981, pp.21-27). These scales are one of the best features of this tutor.

Page twenty-six introduces the first tune, “Amazing Grace,” with no introduction or commentary. A second hymn is included on the same page, and between the two, they include most of the embellishments learned so far. Jones wisely uses “Amazing Grace” as the first tune, because it is a well-known melody and because it is one of the first tunes most GHB students want to play as beginners.

Jones then demonstrates birds, and D and C doublings, with full scales and two appropriately simple tunes comprising these new movements, followed by B, Low A, and Low G doubling. He then includes one page of blank manuscript, but

gives no instruction on to how to use the manuscript (Jones, 1981, p.32). Following this, he devotes a page to demonstrate grips, again with a full scale, but again, very sparsely explained (Jones, 1981, p.33). He follows this with “Mairi's Wedding,” including an excellent explanation of phrasing as it relates to memorizing music (Jones, 1981, p.34). The last page of the tutor section teaches taorluaths and darodos in the same method as the earlier embellishments (Jones, 1981, p.35).

This excellent book could be improved by separating the sections into formal titled lessons or sections, but it has the distinct positive component of having all of the scales written out in their entirety. It would also be improved by greater use of verbiage. Perhaps in an effort to simplify the lessons, Jones oversimplified much of the instruction. However, all of the instruction would probably be understandable, even to a student with no teacher.

THE BAGPIPE by Bill Cleary, 1982

This book, written by Irishman Bill Cleary, was written for two purposes according to the preface. His first goal was to provide general instruction to beginning students. His second was to offer the accomplished piper an expanded repertoire of Irish tunes.

The book begins with a very entertaining four-page history of piping. This is the first tutor to go into such detail. One interesting fact he mentions is that the first person to make an actual written reference to Celtic pipers was Saint Patrick. Later Cleary includes a quote from Vincenzo Galilei, Galileo's father, describing the Celtic GHB, “To its sound, this unconquered, fierce, and warlike people march their armies and encourage one another to feats of valour. With it also they accompany their dead to the grave, making such mournful sounds as almost to force the bystanders to weep” (Cleary, 1982, p.4; Galilei, 2003, p.118).

In the history section, Cleary touches on the development of the GHB in Ireland, ending with a brief Twentieth Century history of piping in Ireland, which this writer would like to see expanded in further study.

Then follows one page devoted to GHB tuning, including one paragraph on chanter reeds virtually copied from *Logan's Tutor*, which was virtually copied from Glen. Based on the amount of time it actually takes to teach students about subjects such as tuning and manipulation of chanter reeds, it seems absurd that the author of a tutor book would even bother mentioning these skills.

Cleary includes two pages of general music theory, but written more with the piper in mind than other Glen-style tutors, including the following statement:

As the scale of the GHB is not the Natural Scale but a highly individual Mixolydian Scale, the usual three sharps for the scale of A major do not follow. In fact, the G is flatter than a Natural G. The F and C are near enough sharps, but in pipe music, though some writers give two sharps on the stave, it is better to write pipe music with no key signature (Cleary, 1982, p.11).

Cleary is the first author to mention the term Mixolydian, which he correctly identifies and describes as the type of scale produced by the GHB. Although inclusion of this information is informative in nature and commendable for the novelty of its inclusion, this knowledge would only be of practical use if the piping student had contact with other non-piping musicians, which would not be likely to occur at the beginner level.

He includes a one-page finger chart which would be useless to anyone without a teacher, followed by a half-page of instruction on grace notes. Then he adds more music theory, including triplets, which are a very advanced concept, again of no practical use to a student at the beginner level. He then spends seven pages teaching doublings and other embellishments, unfortunately illustrating only the high A doubling and the birl with photographs. This instruction would be pointless

without a teacher, and contains several typographical errors which a less-experienced teacher might not catch.

Cleary makes several assertions which are troublesome. He suggests the chanter reed is a simpler creation than the drone reed. Having had to learn how to make both, this writer is not convinced. He then claims the taorluath is the most important movement in piping because, “A judge in competition can determine how good a player is by how well he plays the taorluath...” Speaking as a judge, a judge can, in fact, determine how good a player is by the first sound that comes out of the performer’s GHB, not merely by his taorluath execution.

The music section is divided into easy, intermediate, and advanced sections, the first book to so designate. Some of the easiest tunes are in the intermediate section, and none of the easy tunes would be easy for a beginner. However, Cleary’s second goal was met, because there are several pleasant little previously unpublished Irish tunes.

LEARN TO PLAY THE BAGPIPE by R.T. Shepherd, 1984

This book is eighty-two pages in length. Shepherd makes several claims in the Forward, among them, that this, “...[I]s a new concept in tuition...” that “...[A] completely new phraseology which guarantees a better understanding of ‘interpretation’ and sight reading of music...” is used, and that theory instruction is “...[P]ainlessly applied.” He also states that a student should not attempt to play the GHB until he has at least six tunes memorized. This is in direct opposition to *Logan’s Tutor*, and as mentioned previously, is the current practice for most modern teachers, the only variable being how many tunes need to be memorized prior to beginning the GHB.

Section One begins with a brief introduction to the care and maintenance of the practice chanter followed by a very brief exposition on basic music theory. Immediately after this, Shepherd launches into instruction on how to play the scale. He covers this in the course of seven pages, which are clear, well thought out, not overly wordy, and very similar in nature to the care taken by the *College of Piping Tutor*.

Section Two diverts from practice chanter exercises to rhythm instruction. This is a well presented learning activity, although perhaps premature at this stage, and while there would certainly not be any harm in tackling rhythm the way Shepherd presents it, this writer suggests rhythm is a target objective that can wait until later in the student's progress.

Section Three discusses grace notes. The written instructions are clear, but the accompanying photographs are of poor quality and do not support the instruction. Shepherd then discusses changing notes by leaps, taking nine pages to do this by using exercises. Although this section is easily understandable, and although these exercises would not be harmful to the student, why not teach this concept while learning an actual piece of music? Shepherd presents the first piece of music in the next section, and there are only two leaps in the piece. Coincidentally, the piece he presents in Section Five, page thirty-seven, is "Scots Wa' Hae," the same initial tune presented in the *College of Piping Tutor*, Lesson Four, page thirty-four. These two books take very similar approaches to instruction up to this point, with Shepherd using exercises and emphasizing rhythm more than the *College of Piping Tutor*, and the *College of Piping Tutor* spending more time on grace note development than Shepherd. Either curriculum would be effective.

The first real departure from the *College of Piping Tutor* approach is in Section Seven, where Shepherd introduces all of the embellishments at the same time. Although this section is sixteen pages in length, and although each embellishment is clearly explained, this method seems to be a regression back to the “Glen” approach of memorizing all of the vocabulary prior to learning how to read. It would take a student many weeks of practice to be able to master this section, and there has still only been one part of one tune learned. Following this enormous section, Shepherd launches into a section devoted entirely to six new tunes. The weakness to this approach is that even though these tunes are all simple, easy-to-play pieces of appropriate difficulty to a beginner, it takes time to learn a new piece of music. College of Piping is a much better approach in this writer’s opinion, allowing the student to learn a new tune as he learns the new embellishments required to play it.

One excellent feature of this book is that there is a brief quiz at the end of each section.

RSPBA STRUCTURED LEARNING BOOK 1, 1993

The stated objective of this book is “[T]o promote and encourage the culture and advancement of Pipe Band music internationally.” This tutor, written in 1993, contains the material required for the successful completion of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association (RSPBA) Elementary Certificate. A self-proclaimed, “[I]maginative and comprehensive learning aid,” the book, one hundred and forty-five pages in total length, comprises: a ninety-page general music theory section; a piping tutor; a snare tutor; a bass and tenor tutor; and a drum major section.

This book was clearly designed with distance learning in mind, especially for students with no available instructor. At the onset the authors list excellent

suggestions concerning study techniques, as well as suggestions for the use of the book, implying that the theory should be studied concurrently with the practical section. Each lesson is almost completely self-contained, and each is followed by a worksheet which includes test questions designed to confirm student comprehension. There are twenty-two theory lessons which leave absolutely nothing to assumption on the part of the student. While these theory lessons are all accurate in terms of the information delivered, if every student had to get through all of these tedious theory lessons prior to picking up a practice chanter, there might be few new students.

The GHB tutor portion of the book begins on page ninety-one with a ten-page revision of the old RSPBA tutor. The revision has improved on the original by deleting the examples and exercises using “Scotland the Brave,” and also by the addition of all of the basic scales. This is followed by ten pages on the subject of GHB maintenance, again a valuable revision of the original SPBA tutor. Another valuable addition to this section is a simple maintenance trouble-shooting chart.

Following the piping tutor section are the sections on various aspects of drumming tuition, which, although not pertinent to the scope of this review, are nevertheless a valuable reference for pipers seeking to understand the drumming and ensemble aspects of pipe bands.

LEARN TO PLAY THE GREAT HIGHLAND BAGPIPE by Archie Cairns, 2000

This book is ninety-three pages in length, including several appendices not strictly part of the instruction. Following three pages of very basic theory, which he separates into two chapters, Cairns begins Chapter Three with practical instruction by introducing the top hand notes only. He uses four pages to explain four notes. In the next chapter he adds the bottom hand, using three pages to explain five notes. Not

until Chapter Five does he explain the entire scale. He does not say how long a chapter should be studied before the student progresses to the next chapter, but at the end of both Chapters Three and Four, he has several exercises which he tells the student to practice thirty times each, a rather dauntingly large number for a beginner. Starting from the top hand and working one's way down the chanter, as opposed to the more traditional method of going from the bottom up, demonstrates an effective alternate way of presenting the scale, especially for students with initial difficulty covering their bottom hands. This is a concept this writer has never seen in print, however.

Chapter Six introduces note values, which leads into Chapters Seven and Eight, covering walking in time with the music. This is a well-presented lesson, but premature, since the student has not actually seen a tune at this stage in the book. This introduction to marching, although premature, is an excellent method, containing several innovative learning activities.

Grace notes are not introduced until Chapter Twelve, when Cairns presents High G grace notes for the first time, followed by echo beats. Although this is only page twenty-two, because of the chapter format, it seems much longer. Also, because there is so much extraneous material and information given in each lesson, the chapters appear to be even more cumbersome. D and E grace notes do not appear until Chapter Nineteen.

Chapter Fourteen develops a very innovative mnemonic system for reading rhythm, which would be of value to any musician. This system is based on the fact that all words have an inherent rhythm, and the rhythm of certain words corresponds to the rhythm of certain note values. For instance, the rhythmic value of a three eighth note triplet can be achieved by saying the word "choc-o-late" as three evenly

spaced syllables. It is a fun, easy way to remember and understand this specific rhythm.

On page thirty-nine, Chapter Twenty-three, the student receives his first two tunes. The tunes are appropriately simple for a beginner. The *College of Piping Tutor, Part One* introduces the first tune only five pages earlier in its sequence, but the Cairns method seems much more tedious because of the breakdown of chapters. In the *College of Piping Tutor*, page thirty-four is Lesson Four.

Chapter Twenty-five is a review consisting of a discouragingly large four-page list of things to practice to this point. Is this to be expected after twenty-five weeks? The student is told to designate a specific type of tune for each practice session. According to the instructions, Session One would be slow airs and quick marches. Session Two would be strathspeys and reels, and Session Three would be hornpipes and jigs. Unfortunately, so far in the curriculum the student has only been introduced to two slow airs. The student does not get the next tunes, two more simple tunes until Chapter Twenty-eight. Cairns introduces strathspey and reel rhythms in Chapter Thirty-two, followed by Chapter Thirty-three, which presents two more marches. Chapter Thirty-seven finally exposes the student's to his first strathspeys and reels, as well as hornpipes and jigs in the same chapter.

This book is very heavy on rhythm and exercises, but seems exceptionally tedious from the perspective of learning new material. While this approach would likely give a strong foundation to any student, it might be difficult to retain student interest by such a ponderous approach.

Cairns concludes with excellent advice on memorizing, and suggests recording practice periodically, then not listen to it, but rather put the recording away. Then, a month later, rerecord the same practice material, and listen to the

difference. This is a tremendously valuable learning activity. Often the student comes in complaining of not making progress. This activity shows progress every time, provided of course, that the student is actually practicing.

HIGHLAND BAGPIPE TUTOR BOOK 1 by The Piping Centre, 2001

This one hundred and sixteen-page book is easily the most visually appealing tutor in existence today. Produced on high-quality paper, the full-colour format is very attractive, with cute little cartoon caricatures of fat “Yosemite Sam” look-alike pipers. The method used is basically that of the *College of Piping Tutor*, with different tunes and a slightly different sequence to the lessons. By the end of the book, thirty chapters separated into five parts, the student has been exposed to twenty tunes, all of appropriate difficulty within the sequence. The appendices include rhythm exercises with all of the scales written out, as well as several additional tunes.

The book is well paced, well sequenced, and easy to understand, but at twice the cost of the *College of Piping Tutor*, one wonders about the real value of cartoons on full color paper.

BAGPIPE INSTRUCTIONAL TUTOR FOR LIGHT MUSIC by John Cairns, 2002

If anything, this tutor errs on the side of over-instruction. Although explicit and exhaustive in detail, Cairns appears to forget that the goal of learning to play the bagpipe is to learn to play the bagpipe. In the sixty-six pages of Book One the student gets to play his first note in Lesson Five, on page thirty-three. In the entire nine lessons there are no tunes. In fact, the first tune introduced by this method is “Amazing Grace” in Book Three. “Amazing Grace” is the only tune in that book.

While fascinating, the explicit detail offered in these books seems better suited as supplemental reading to the more practically-based tutors. Many a Scot

might be annoyed at the thought of spending over \$100 for tutor books and only getting one tune out of it, no matter what the promised ultimate result.

Conclusion

Of the two types of tutors available, the most user friendly are the methods books, and of the methods books available, the best one, in this writer's opinion, is the first one, the *College of Piping Tutor*, Part One. MacNeill's and Pearston's visionary approach to GHB instruction was exceptionally well thought out and practical. Their idea of teaching only the minimum material required to achieve the next step in the learner's progress was balanced with a concern for correctness and an abhorrence for cutting corners. The subsequent methods books are attempts to improve on an excellent idea, but as occurs so often in other spheres, "new and improved" is often neither.

The books written by Archie and John Cairns, although filled with detailed information, would seem to overwhelm the student. An interview with both men to discover their motive for drawing out the instruction so much would be of great interest.

Where there is more than one volume in a series, only the first of these was examined, with the exception of John Cairns' series, which I examined to see when the first tune would be introduced. Analysis of all subsequent volumes of multi-volume works would strengthen this review. So too, the CD/DVD component of GHB tutors was omitted from this paper, even when the written tutor was accompanied by a CD, as was the case with many of the method books. Re-examining these tutors along with their accompanying CD is the next logical phase of study in this regard. There is also a DVD tutor available by Donald Lindsay, titled,

“Bagpipe Tutor, the Easy Way to Learn.” A review of this product might be included in the future.

Finally, since beginning work on this project, this writer has discovered eight other ancient GHB tutors, written in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century, long out of print, which have recently been made available on CD-ROM. These would be of interest from a historical perspective, but since they are not widely available or in current use, they would not add value to this work as it applies to the current state of the art of GHB instruction. The following information, including author, title and possible publication date is as much information as this writer was able to gather on these books.

- Thomas Glen. *New and Complete Tutor for the Great Highland Bagpipe*. Possibly between 1839 and 1866. Thirty-four pages.
- William Gray and John Seton. 1922. *Bagpipe and Drum Tutor*. Eighty-four pages.
- Hawkes and sons. 1922. *Simplicity Instruction Book*. Forty pages
- Peter Henderson. 1900. *Henderson's Tutor for the Bagpipe*. Thirty-eight pages.
- William Mackay. 1840. *Complete Tutor for the Great Highland Bagpipe*.
- PM A. R. MacLeod. ca.1915. *MacLeod's Tutor and Collection for the Highland Bagpipe*. Ninety-eight pages.
- Donald MacPhee. 1877. *Complete Tutor for the Highland Bagpipe*. Twenty-five pages.
- Capt. Robert Menzies. 1818. *The Bagpipe Preceptor*. Forty-seven pages.
- J. Percy Sturrock. 1909. Thirty-one pages.

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